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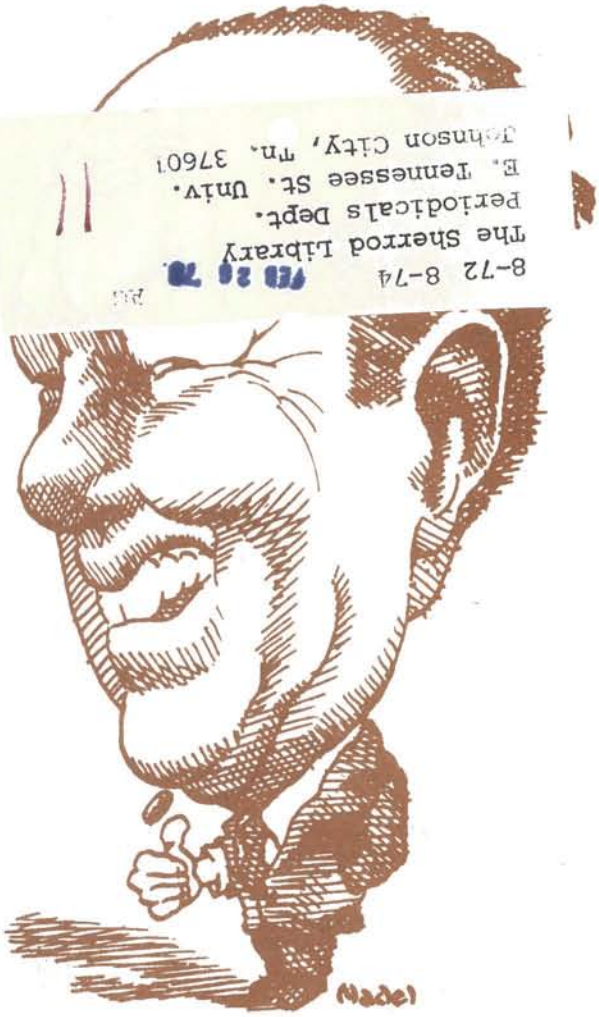

THE CASE AGAINST ROY ASH

Rep. Les Aspin

Charles P. Larrowe's* Harry Bridges / *Al Richmond

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LETTERS

the evil men do

Chicago, Ill.

DEAR SIRS: Your Feb. 5th editorial sensibly evaluating Lyndon Johnson's Presidency is remiss in only one vital area.

While he did, indeed, "feel" for civil rights and play a significant role in passing outstanding legislation in that area, he was also capable of demolishing his own handiwork for political purposes. Title VII of the epic 1964 Civil Rights Act enabled the federal government to withhold funding from jurisdictions that were in violation of other parts of the law. It represented the most important weapon that could be used against Northern institutions practicing racial discrimination in a variety of forms.

Its first major test came when Francis Keppel, then Commissioner of Education, suspended some $30 million in grants to the Chicago public school system on the basis of a civil rights complaint filed by movement leaders. The complaint . . . has been proved correct in virtually every detail.

But of course it was not to the liking of Mayor Richard J. Daley, who held an immediate conference with Johnson. Instantly the funds were restored.

Just as instantly, politicians throughout the nation were signaled that Title VII would not be used against them—and their dealings with minorities in Northern urban areas reflected the instant demise of Title VII. Johnson may have felt strongly for black and brown people, but it was a love outweighed by his devotion to machine politics within the Democratic Party. *Don Rose*

Rockville Centre, N.Y.

DEAR SIRS: It would have been worth saying, not only in Barton Bernstein's "Harry S. Truman: The Limitations of Pluck" [*The Nation*, Jan. 8] but in larger journalistic obituaries, that in launching the Smith Act indictments and trials—and thereby punishing men and women for opinions they advocated—the Truman administration weakened the First Amendment and imparted to McCarthyism and the blacklist era a credibility for its underlying falsehoods that they would otherwise have lacked. It made possible . . . a purge from the ranks of labor of the leaven of idealism and moral fervor that has left us with the dominant hard-hat core of the new . . . American majority that re-elected the Mad Bomber. *Howard N. Meyer*

Traven's movie

Richmond, Calif.

DEAR SIRS: It was good to read Alan Cheuse's excellent review of B. Traven's *The Rebellion of the Hanged* [*The Nation*, Jan. 8] which I first read some thirty-five years ago. . . . Now I'd like to see the movie made from his *La Rosa Blanca* by Roberto Galvadón in 1961. The late Phil Stevenson (Lars Lawrence) participated in the adaptation. Gabriel Figueroa was the cinematographer. . . .

The Mexican Government has never officially censored it [but] somehow it never seemed to get a license. In the fall of 1971, when I was returning from South America, *Excelsior* in Mexico City questioned why the film had never been released. . . . Scuttlebutt was that it was a great film but had never got out of the can because the government feared it was too openly anti-North American imperialism. . . . *Thomas D. Hardwick*

now more than ever

Edmonton, Alberta

DEAR SIRS: Volumes have been written about "the conflicts that divide America," etc., but the last two paragraphs of your editorial "The Clockwork Inaugural" [Feb. 5] get it all together. . . . Richard Nixon is a symptom, not a cause, of America's illness. Right on! *Robert F. Fischer*

EDITORIALS

The Ehrlichman Doctrine

"But you're getting into the area of one-man rule," the interviewer remonstrated with his guest on a recent CBS news program. "Sure," replied John D. Ehrlichman, the President's top adviser for domestic affairs, "that's what the President of the United States is." "One-man rule?" "Yes, sir, and he is the only elected officer elected by all the people of the United States, unlike the Senators and the Congressmen."

That this view reflects the President's current thinking he made clear at his January 31st press conference, when he said that Congress represents "special interests" whereas he speaks for "the general interest, whether it be rich or poor." The same sentiment was aggressively asserted by Roy L. Ash, the new budget director; Joseph T. Sneed, Deputy Attorney General; Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, and William D. Ruckelshaus, of the Environmental Protection Agency, in recent appearances before Senator Ervin's subcommittee on separation of powers. In particular, Ash's dogged defense of executive primacy, according to *The Washington Post*, "provoked Senators to personal castigation of a type rarely visited on high administration officials." Sen. Lawton M. Chiles (D., Fla.) accused Ash of asserting a right to "spoon-feed" Congress, giving its members "only the information you decide we should have at the time you decide we should have it." "I'm amazed," Senator Muskie said; "this is dangerous doctrine."

Dangerous but familiar. Every dictator on his way to power has talked in this same fashion. Only Hitler, the world was told, really spoke for the German people. But Hitler no more represented all the German people than Nixon speaks for all of us. A glance at his budget shows that he does not speak for Negroes, for the rural poor, for the elderly, or for the lame, the halt and the blind. His budget reflects not the general interest but the interests of big business. The White House contends, of course, that the President's mail supports his current assertion that the nature of his constituency invests him with powers not defined by the Constitution. But his critics in the House and Senate also receive mail and it just as affirmatively supports their position. Moreover, it is a fair inference that the President's critics in the Congress are closer to their constituents than he is to his.

But even these critics fail to sense the deeper thrust of the Ehrlichman Doctrine. George Reedy, who served as President Johnson's press aide, stresses in a recent issue of *Newsday* the political background against which Mr. Nixon insists upon the implied powers of his office. For all his political cunning, Mr. Nixon has never shown much talent for the give-and-take of politics. He served in both the Senate and the House and yet his record there, as Mr. Reedy points out, is barren of significant legislative achievements. An aggressive partisan, his basic political inclinations have, in the past, been restrained by the need to win the next election, whatever it happened to be. As President, he has shown a disposition to switch rather than fight whenever he felt that a switch

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was imperative. Long a harsh critic of China, he made a sudden decision to visit Peking. Overnight he became a Keynesian, but has now turned back to Adam Smith. His opportunism, in a word, has tempered his basically narrow partisan politics.

But he is now free of that "next election"; it is most unlikely that he will ever again run for office—any office. And he is now in a strong position vis-à-vis the Congress. He is cutting back many programs and is proposing few new initiatives. So he is free at last to express his preferences, blaze away at favorite targets, and concentrate on winning a resplendent place in the history books. When Presidents begin to talk about "rising above politics," when they begin to stress the "inherent powers" of their office, it is a sure sign that they lack the humility which, in Mr. Reedy's view, is an indispensable Presidential virtue. It is a quality for which Mr. Nixon is not noted. In brief, as Mr. Reedy warns us, "the omens are not good."

The Anti-Tension Touch

Nervous tension is so prevalent in uptight America that it is no surprise to hear that both President Nixon and Dr. Kissinger are among those afflicted. Unlike most citizens, however, they are fortunate in having found a remedy. In a sudden burst of publicity, Dr. W. Kenneth Riland, a New York osteopath, reveals that he accompanied the President to Peking and Moscow, and also went to Paris with Dr. Kissinger to give daily treatment designed to cope with the pressures of statesmanship. Dr. Riland soothes his patients with a "manipulative, muscle-relaxant technique" involving the bones of the spinal column.

At present Dr. Riland is attending the President only once a week. We respectfully suggest that this is not enough: judging by his recent utterances and actions, the President's tensions are rising.

At his recent press conference Mr. Nixon lashed out at the "so-called better people in the media and the intellectual circles" who, it seems, did not extend the wholehearted support to our men in Vietnam that Mr. Nixon gave by prolonging the war another four years. The assembled reporters were told, "I know how it gags some of you to write that phrase" ("peace with honor"), and the President came close to accusing of treason all those who had disagreed with him. He knocked down the idea of amnesty and inadvertently felled the Peace Corps: "Those who deserted must pay their price, and the price is not a junket in the Peace Corps." Tension, tension!

The President cannot mete out all the chastisement himself, but he has capable assistants. He has reactivated his pre-election "attack group," headed by his special counsel, Charles W. Colson, who is leaving the White House staff at the end of the month but not without some parting shots at Mr. Nixon's critics. Interviewed on the Public Television Network, Colson assailed former Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford and Senators Fulbright, McGovern, Church and Kennedy as doves who tried to force the President to withdraw from Indochina without regard to consequences, i.e., obstruct-

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ing "peace with honor." Earlier, in a *New York Times* article, Colson used the expression "sellout brigade." If there is a psychological element in Mr. Nixon's tension, as is often the case with lesser sufferers, Mr. Colson's purpose might have been to supplement Dr. Riland's spinal manipulations with a scapegoat outlet for the President's hostilities.

If so, the effort has been unsuccessful so far. *Newsweek* (February 12) characterizes the post-election Nixon as "a taut, tough public moralist bent on managing America in the manner of a father managing an unruly family." Mr. Nixon's tongue-lashings do not, moreover, stop at the water's edge. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, apparently unaware of the Presidential tensions, suggested that if the victims of the war had been white, not Asian, the war would have ended sooner. She also expressed misgivings as to the durability of the peace, doubts which are shared by probably a majority of Americans, hawks and doves alike. Her views were castigated by the State Department as "difficult to comprehend and unwelcome"; in other words, shut up, Madame Prime Minister. Another foreigner who has long tormented Mr. Nixon's nerves is Premier Olof Palme of Sweden. As Mr. Nixon wound up the war with the intensified bombing of Hanoi, Mr. Palme likened the attacks to Nazi atrocities in World War II. His voice rising in anger, Secretary Rogers has accused Mr. Palme of making outrageous, vitriolic and gratuitous statements. Maybe Mr. Rogers also needs relaxing treatments.

These supplementary angers are of little interest, but what is Mr. Nixon so mad about? Seemingly he expected hats to be tossed in the air and homage paid to him for the cease-fire. Instead, nothing happened. The stock market dipped (Phase III), there was bad news about the trade deficit and the money crisis, but probably none of this upset the President as much as the indifference of the American people to "peace with honor." To achieve the Presidency a politician must usually have the hide of a rhinoceros. Mr. Nixon is an exception. He has a need for appreciation unusual in Chief Executives, and when he doesn't get what he thinks is due him he loses his temper.

Now he is apparently out to win the Nobel Peace Prize; at least, he did not intervene to stop his admirers from entering his name. Ordinarily, publicity of this kind is unwelcome; the Nobel Prize is not a Hollywood Oscar competition. If Nixon received it the peace award would be turned into a farce. What could be more grotesque than a leading practitioner of terror bombing being honored as an apostle of peace? Not only that, but, as Cyrus Eaton reminded us recently, Nixon was more pro-war than either Kennedy or Johnson. As Vice President at the time of Dienbienphu, he was all for intervening against the Vietminh, reportedly with atomic bombs. Dr. Kissinger now admits that the conflict in Vietnam was a civil war before we got into it, but Emmet John Hughes, a long-time Rockefeller adviser, has said that Kissinger was always pro-war. Perhaps, if the Nobel Peace Prize is to be turned into a shambles, Nixon and Kissinger should share the honor equally.

Nixon's yearning for public acclaim is again being manifested in relation to the returning POWs. At first he showed good taste by saying that the men should be quietly welcomed and left to reunion joys with their families. The President, and the war party generally, had hinted all through the war that the men were being abused; it now turns out that they are quite healthy. Those who maligned their captors have no apologies to offer: one would not expect any, nor an acknowledgment that the best friends the POWs had were in the peace movement.

But now there are signs that the men are going to be dragged into politics after all. According to Ron Ziegler, Col. Robinson Risner, a 48-year-old Air Force officer who had been held captive since 1965, could not restrain himself from calling the President on the phone to thank him for "his personal efforts to get us out of Vietnam" and to promise him on behalf of "virtually all the prisoners" that the President "would have our support as long as you live." Although Ziegler has assured the press that Risner's call was spontaneous, it remains to be seen whether the President will adhere to his earlier resolution to stay out of the act. Still and all, the adulation of the POWs (if Colonel Risner really speaks for them) may help as much as Dr. Riland's manipulations to relieve the President's tensions.

Behind the Dollar Headlines

When President Nixon signed the Smithsonian agreement in December 1971, he hailed it as "the most significant monetary agreement in the history of the world." At that time we had a trade deficit of about $2 billion. John Connally, equally imbued with machismo, assured us that the deficit would vanish in two years. Instead, it rose to nearly $6.5 billion, and in the last few weeks the Smithsonian accord was blown skyhigh.

What happened, aside from the revelation that Messrs. Nixon and Connally didn't know what they were talking about? The first thing to be noted is that the accounts in the printed and electronic press of "speculators" raiding the dollar were describing a symptom, rather than the underlying pathology. And, by projecting the speculators as anonymous miscreants bent on destroying the international monetary system for private gain, they were misleading the public. The fact is that these operators included some of the world's most powerful and respectable institutions—international banks pretending to be neutral observers, not active participants; oil-rich countries and associated oil companies; and especially multinational corporations. These and other interests, which constantly monitor money fluctuations, noted some recent developments in the United States:

¶The huge U. S. trade deficit, more than three times as large in 1972 as in 1971.

¶The Administration's impulsive switch to Phase III.

¶The fiscal 1974 budget which, despite social service cuts, is the largest ever.

The astute prognosticators who manage multinational corporations concluded that more inflation was on the way in the United States. Whether they acted in self-defense or with the idea of making a fast buck (except that they think in terms of hundreds of millions of bucks)

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is not the main issue. Whatever their motives, they became major factors in trading and speculating on the currency markets, and set in motion the concatenation of forces that led speedily to the 10 per cent devaluation of the dollar which President Nixon announced on February 12, as if he had engineered it from the start.

Amid the flood of off-the-cuff comment heard during and after the crisis, one diagnosis stands out. It is a 930-page, long-range study by the U.S. Tariff Commission, reported concisely in *The Wall Street Journal* of February 13. The study isolates the following points as being crucial to the development of the crisis and its outcome.

¶Some *$268 billion* of short-term, liquid assets were held at the end of 1971 by "private institutions on the international finance scene." Most of this sum was controlled by U.S.-based multinational companies and banks.

¶Companies and banks that large can "outgun" even the world's central banks in international currency dealings. And though most multinational concerns are absolved of "destructive, predatory motives," much of the recent speculative money surge stems from the multinationals.

¶Since they are directly involved, these institutions are highly sensitive to changes in the money markets, currency ratios, etc.

¶For the same reason—and because they have the power to influence the money markets—they are not above speculating on the currency markets. If multinational A stands aloof, there is no guarantee that multinational B will refrain. Not to gain is tantamount to losing.

¶Washington has a very light rein on these monsters. They can shift money and resources around at will, without the government knowing much of what goes on; other governments are in the same case.

¶To this Edwin L. Dale, Jr. adds (*The New York Times*, February 12): "A large and growing portion of world trade, particularly U.S. trade, now consists of shipments between and among the parent, subsidiaries and affiliates of multinational companies. Exchange rates and prices are not crucial in this flow of goods, or at least not as much as classical economic theory would imply." The freedom of maneuver of these interests is correspondingly increased—and a crisis can develop through the application of only a fraction of their resources.

According to conventional economic theory, devaluing the dollar should aid our export business and put a brake on imports. Today, it is not necessarily so. As Dale points out, the multinationals are not built on the conventional model. Then, the business cycle is on the upswing here (how long it will last is another matter), so people who want imports will have the money to buy them. The new measures may not curb the inflationary potential, as hoped; nor improve American foreign trade, as also hoped.

The devaluation of the dollar and the moves on the part of foreign banks and governments may have some ameliorative effect for a time, but none of these maneuvers comes to grips with the central problem. What is needed is an international monetary system, not in name only, but capable of coping with the present state of international trade and the international business system that has emerged and is still emerging.

Once the Common Market is fully operative, and the political side is sufficiently advanced, it might be possible to work out such a system among the Common Market nations, the United States and Japan. And over the long term, the Communist powers could not be omitted.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Tariff Commission's study is a timely contribution to understanding what has happened and possibly predicting developments. It should also be a substantial aid in Sen. Frank Church's forthcoming investigation of multinationals.

Corporate Confetti

Since Dita Beard's famous ITT memo, the manufacture of shredding machines or "document destruction equipment" has become a new growth industry. In part this simply reflects the innocent fact that many large organizations, swimming in paper, must destroy large quantities of it from time to time in order to keep from drowning. Last year, for example, the San Francisco-based Bank of America destroyed more than 1.25 million pounds of records and documents. Many state and local ordinances make it illegal to burn large quantities of documents. So the shredder has come into its own.

But there is a motive deeper than tidiness at work in the new growth industry, and it crops up discreetly in the trade journals. For one thing, the industry is coy about guessing at the reasons for the boom in shredding equipment. "Put it this way," a spokesman is quoted as saying (*Los Angeles Times*), "if we talked about how we dispose of our sensitive papers and memos, we would just be helping the people who are interested in seeing them." This oblique comment suggests the dilemma large organizations now face. The larger the organization, the more dealers and agencies and outlets and branches it has, the more it must rely on memos, documents, correspondence and chatty, FYI stuff. That has always been true, but then along came Xerox and its cousins in duplication, and the problem was multiplied a thousandfold. It is fun—actually it has become a new American pastime—to make Xerox copies: it can be done very quickly, surreptitiously, and it is almost impossible to keep track of copies. So the copying machine begat the shredding machine, as machines usually beget other machines.

A few recent news stories illuminate the situation. The government complains that when IBM and Control Data Corporation secretly settled a civil antitrust action brought by the latter, documents germane to a pending antitrust proceeding were destroyed. The missing papers are described in an AP summary as "a computerized index of 150,000 copies of documents culled from millions of pages of IBM records." IBM replies the material was not evidence but "lawyers' work product," which apparently is not to be equated with a reporter's notes or network news outtakes. G. Gordon Liddy, the convicted Watergate plotter, hurriedly shredded an 8-by-10-inch stack of reports the morning after the break-in. Messrs. Ellsberg and Russo had little difficulty copying the many volumes of the Pentagon Papers. Now Jack Anderson reports that employees of GM have turned over to him thousands of incriminating documents and papers from corporate files, much of it marked "GM Restricted: Not To Be Disclosed Outside GM Corp."—in itself almost a

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mandate for wide dissemination. Included are confidential minutes of international meetings, and photographs intended for GM eyes only—"loyal" GM eyes.

One may be sure, against this background, that the shredding machine boom is in its infancy. Machines are priced from $200 to $3,000 and up, depending on how much paper the machine can handle in an hour and the thoroughness with which it does its job. Conceivably, ¼-inch shreds could be reassembled by a determined spy, but 1/32-inch shreds would balk him. Because of the presence of staples, paper clips, carbon papers, etc., the destroyed documents usually cannot be recycled into new paper. For the most part, it is reduced to a pulpy mess, hauled to a dump and covered with dirt.

So the war between the need for secrecy, on the one hand, and public interest in the information concealed, on the other, will now be waged on an enlarged mechanized front. Even conceding the shredder's versatility, the public interest may still be served—from time to time. Mark it "your eyes only" if you wish, and shred it as fine as you can, but expect to see it sooner or later in a column by some inquisitive Jack Anderson.

LIBERATED BUT PRAGMATIC

THE WOMEN OF AFRICA

KENNETH LITTLE

Mr. Little, professor of African Urban Studies at the University of Edinburgh, has also been a visiting professor at the University of California, Los Angeles; New York University, Fisk University and elsewhere in the United States. He is the author of The Mende of Sierra Leone *(Routledge);* West African Urbanization *(Cambridge University Press);* Negroes in Britain *(Routledge) and the forthcoming* African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution *(Cambridge University Press), from which this article is in large part derived.*

A major trend since World War II has been the reaction of minority groups throughout the world to real or imagined discrimination. These groups include, in the widest sense, not only black and brown populations in metropolitan and colonial countries but the younger generation and women in general. Though expressing themselves in different ways, these movements have all aimed at advancement, and they have all had victories. For example, in Britain the voting age has been lowered from 21 to 18. But it is of particular significance that, in the developing countries, freedom from colonial rule was often accompanied by radical changes in the customary status of the women and young men. This certainly was the case in sub-Saharan Africa because, even before independence, the women joined the "improvement" and other unions formed by the young men. They worked together as fellow migrants, the aim being to provide for their home villages modern amenities—schools, hospitals and roads—equal to those of the cities into which they had moved.

Thus when African nationalism—itself an expression of youthful impatience with traditionalism as well as resentment of alien rule—gathered strength, the young party leaders and the women perceived the mutual advantages of a united front. For President Sékou Touré of Guinea, for instance, women were "a revolutionary force" who, in return for helping the nationalist struggle, would be emancipated themselves. He declared: "The women are the fire of [the party]. When we want to make a knife we need iron, water and fire. The knife is Africa. We are the blacksmiths. We must use fire to make our knife. Our fire is our women. Our women mold us and carry us."

Indeed, Sékou Touré sought to make the women both his election agents and a means of political pressure, exhorting them to deny sexual intercourse to their husbands unless they joined his party, the Parti Démocratique de Guinée. The women became enthusiastic members, but regarded the PDG mainly as a means of securing more favorable matrimonial legislation, more participation in the natural economy, etc. They did not hesitate to criticize Sékou Touré himself when essential commodities became scarce, or promised reforms did not materialize.

The late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was another radical politician who benefited from the women's cooperation, especially that of the market traders. Indeed, in the view of Modibo Keita, until 1968 President of Mali, the women provided more militant support than the men. He was thinking, perhaps, of Madame Coulibay (later an Upper Volta Minister), who was once described by a French official as *"une femme formidable dans la politique."* It was she who mobilized an army of women for demonstrations which, by forcing the French to release key Rassemblement Démocratique Africain personnel, kept nationalism alive at a crucial stage in French West and Equatorial Africa. African women have also revolted on their own. In the 1920s, they poured out of their villages in thousands to bring the British administration of southeastern Nigeria to a standstill. In Abeokuta, their agitation led to the abdication of one of Nigeria's most important traditional rulers, and in Uganda they pressed hard for the return of the exiled Kabaka.

It naturally follows from this that popular stereotypes are misleading. True, African women often seem submissive, especially when etiquette requires it. But to regard them as downtrodden, spiritless creatures borders on the ridiculous. Just as wrong, however, is it to suppose that African women are expert only in militancy. On the contrary, throughout most of the continent women have associations of their own which, in addition to operating complicated mutual benefit schemes, concern themselves with domestic affairs. The latter groups, usually under educated leadership, frequently offer instruction in mod-

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ern hygiene, motherhood and nutrition, and provide marriage guidance. They are often coordinated by national federations which hold conferences, sometimes international, at which problems crucial to women's modern aspirations are debated, including the compatibility of certain traditional customs with feminine dignity. About the latter matter educated women feel strongly; and, in Kenya, for example, there has been a move to have African women addressed by the Swahili expression, *mem-sahib*. Kenyan women fought alongside the men for independence, but for six years thereafter no woman was elected to the National Assembly. This delay has been taken as symbolical of sexual discrimination, and the women have vehemently demanded wider opportunities in all walks of life.

Maendelo ya Wanawake (Women's Progress), with some 300 branches, is the largest association of this sort in Kenya. After her defeat in the national elections, its principal executive, Mrs. Ruth Habwe, wrote in frustration:

> For a long time, men have advocated equality; they loathed discrimination of any form in human society. But when it comes to practicing what they profess, because of their own self-centered motives, they contradict themselves. . . . Time and again many of our leaders have spoken out for the women . . . although when it comes to giving a woman something they have always dialed 0. . . .

Mrs. Habwe also took sternly to task a gathering of Masai, probably the most conservatively minded males in the whole of East Africa. "The time has come," she declared, "for you men to take better care of your wives. Just because we wear skirts, you tend to regard us as your slaves. But no more. Women are on the march."

These Kenyan militants are not alone on the continent, although women's aspirations are more generally expressed in terms of being "free," of managing one's own affairs, even of being altogether independent of men. That is one of the main incentives prompting the move of village women to the towns. But, in fact, except for a small though increasing category of career women, most girls *do* want to marry. Their difficulty is the traditional family system. This not only places the spouse's kinship obligations before the conjugal relationship but encourages husbands, for procreative reasons, to feel entitled to more sexual license than their wives. The latter, in consequence, tend to be caught in a cultural crossfire which forces many of them to "go it alone" in order to be emotionally as well as economically secure.

Paradoxically, therefore, the educated woman's position is often more ambiguous than that of her illiterate sister. And that is so despite the fact that, especially in West Africa, women have made their mark in almost every modern institution. Indeed, in some countries the percentage in professional work is at least as high as in, say, Britain. Women like Mme. Ella Gulama of Sierra Leone (also a pioneer of the women's cause) and Mme. Sophie Lihau of Kinshasa (now Zaire), have held ministerial office; and there are women magistrates, some very prosperous businesswomen, doctors and lawyers in plenty, and numbers of senior civil servants, as well as the many women party leaders upon whose influence with their own sex prominent male politicians often rely. Much of the modern infrastructure also depends upon women's extensive contribution as nurses and teachers.

However, although *individual* women enjoy signal success, woman's bid for full equality has, according to a study by Dr. Wipper, received less sympathy in Kenya and has been handled there by a judicious employment of tokenism. For instance, the women were told that in order to prove themselves they must behave like men; then, when they tried, they were accused of opportunism. Instead of appointing leading women to public office, the government headed them off into, for example, United Nations delegations. A related strategy—reminiscent of colonial treatment of the African intelligentsia—consisted of dismissing urban spokeswomen as unrepresentative of rural people.

These feminist movements and their demand for equality with men naturally invite comparison with women's liberation in Europe and North America. But caution is necessary because, although well-organized and disciplined, the African women have little or no interest in philosophical arguments. Unlike some ardent feminist writers in the West, they feel no need to justify their position scientifically; and so anthropological explanations,

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real or imaginary, of male and female differences would strike the African woman, whether educated or illiterate, as superfluous. Hers is a pragmatic approach; and when she decides on positive action it is usually for a specific goal.

Nor is "liberation" itself rigidly construed or necessarily bound up with *sexual* inferiority at all. True, African women are alive to the way the world is ruled and know that it is not in fact governed by rocking cradles. But although the ordinary educated African woman certainly expects her fair "crack of the whip," it is mainly mutual consideration and reciprocity she has in mind. She may cherish notions of companionship and partnership, and may actually welcome a husband's leadership. That is because it does not occur to her to feel devalued as a person, least of all because she is female. Indeed, in this respect African women often appear more self-confident and mature than many European or American women, possibly because of the different culture in which Africans are reared. It is one in which social value is primarily placed on women as bearers of children and as good mothers to them.

The West, by contrast, has its own cultural heritage, which includes the rather odd idea that human beings are conceived in sin. What is much more, psychiatrists as well as the enormous advertising and pornographic industries have a vested interest in "sex," which becomes, in consequence, a matter of central importance as well as curiosity. The tremendous psychological pressure exerted by these influences tends to condition the Western woman's thinking. She comes to feel that everything depends upon her being more desirable as a sexual object than other women. This, in turn, is partly why Western notions of romantic love are so exclusive and partly why, to a Western woman, any idea of sharing a husband is, as a rule, repugnant.

True, to belong to a polygamous household is anathema to most African girls who have been to high school; but this reaction is, in part at least, explicable in prestige terms. The Westernized African elite accords an inferior status to polygamy. Even so, there are some literate women who deliberately choose a polygamist who is wealthy enough to pamper them in preference to suitors who, though "civilized," have little economically to offer.

And so, although Euro-North American and African women are both on the march, the latter, despite their society's technological disadvantage, are off to perhaps the stronger start. In addition to being less brittle, they have the advantage of a firmer tradition. Brought up in that tradition, they already know, and do not require textbook instruction, how to act, behave and feel like women. In other words, having values that are intrinsically her own, the African woman does not need to borrow those of men. She experiences no desire or compulsion to pass as a male by, metaphorically, exchanging her skirt for trousers. □

THE CASE AGAINST ROY ASH

REP. LES ASPIN
Mr. Aspin (D., Wis.) is a member of the House Armed Services Committee; he was an adviser to Robert S. McNamara when the latter was Secretary of Defense.

One of the top items on the House of Representatives' current agenda is a Senate-passed bill to require the confirmation of Roy Ash as director of the Office of Management and Budget. The legislation, sponsored by Democratic leaders in both houses and supported by House Speaker Carl Albert, was passed by the Senate on February 5 by a vote of 64 to 17.

House passage is likely, but President Nixon has already let it be known that he will veto the measure. It is not yet known whether the House and the Senate will have the muscle to override the President's veto, which is designed to protect his new budget director from the Congressional scrutiny that the Administration undoubtedly fears. While there is general agreement within the Congress that the OMB director should be subject to Senate confirmation, it is particularly important for Congress to examine the public and private record of Roy Ash. Other new Nixon appointees have been subject to hearings before relevant Senate committees, and to confirmation votes by the Senate itself, but Ash has never been asked to explain a myriad of alleged frauds, lawsuits, insiders' stock dealings and apparent conflicts of interest between his new position as the nation's budgetary czar and his earlier career as founder and later president of Litton Industries.

Litton, once one of America's most prosperous conglomerates, has been sliding steadily downhill since 1967. From an all-time high in October 1967, of $120 per share, its stock has slumped to $10. When problems first cropped up in Litton's business machine division, profits dropped an incredible 56 per cent from the first quarter of 1967 to the first quarter of 1968. But, in the face of adversity, Litton always seems to have an "everything's coming up roses" public attitude.

Ash told *Forbes* magazine in 1968, "We've already proved and we'll prove again in the future the virtue of our type of operation." He predicted to *The New York Times* that the firm's growth trend "should resume in fiscal 1969 at the level where it stopped at the end of the first quarter of 1968." Ash's predictions were unfulfilled. Total profits declined in 1970 to $67 million and in 1971 Litton's net earnings sank to $50 million.

But corporate optimism presumably helped the company convince the job-hungry state of Mississippi that it should float a $130 million bond issue to finance what Litton described as "a shipyard of the future" in Pascagoula, Miss. [See "The Litton Ship Fiasco" by Rep. Les Aspin, *The Nation,* December 11, 1972.] Despite Litton's customary euphoria, the shipyard has been

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nothing less than a disaster. Given the military's habit of fouling up weapons contracts, it comes as no surprise that the Navy poured $3 billion in shipbuilding contracts into Litton's new and untested shipyard, even though the yard was employing a concept of construction (i.e., modular) never before used on warships. The rest of the story is well-known—mammoth cost overruns, long delays, and now a series of negotiations between Litton and the Navy involving $400 million worth of bailout funds for the five-ship Landing Helicopter Assault (LHA) contract. Litton also hopes to produce thirty new destroyers at the so-called "shipyard of the future"; in which case, the LHA farce promises to repeat itself. The Navy is already attempting to cover up $100 million in cost overruns on the new ships and more cost problems are expected.

With its shipbuilding contracts in deep trouble, Litton's 1972 net earnings dipped to a new low of only $1.1 million and the firm's claim to even that amount is suspect. The company, in its annual report, includes as part of its assets an undisclosed sum which it anticipates that the Navy will pay to Litton in claims. The Navy brass thinks Ash and his crowd don't deserve one thin dime; in fact, the Navy is filing its own counterclaims against Litton. The Navy charges that Litton collected excess overhead at the Pascagoula shipyard and temporarily held 10 per cent of Navy payments that were due Litton subcontractors, in order to keep a few extra bucks in Litton's near-empty coffers. In total, the Navy says Litton owes the smaller fry $8 million.

More important than any questions that may be raised about Ash's managerial skill is the conflict between Ash's job as overseer of the Navy's budget and his former position as Litton's chief officer during the time of a tangled and complex series of disputes involving the shipbuilding contracts. The *Washington Star-News*'s Pentagon reporter, Orr Kelly, recently obtained a copy of the minutes of a meeting between top Navy personnel and Litton officials, including Ash. According to this record, written by an admiral in attendance, Ash threatened—as part of Litton's attempt to heist approximately $400 million in bailout funds which the company needs to pay for its miserable performance on the five-ship program—to go over the heads of Navy officials and take his case to John Connally and the White House. With Litton still trying to grab $400 million in bailout funds, and Ash its former chief executive publicly expressing an interest in the Navy's budget, Ash's conflict of interest is hard to ignore.

Of course, Ash has agreed to sell all of his Litton stock and convert it into a blind trust, but even if he intends to act in the most honorable and upright way, the appearance of potential conflict of interest will still exist. With a founder and former president of Litton Industries controlling the purse strings, no sane Chief of Naval Operations or Secretary of the Navy would impose on Litton a contract settlement which is not acceptable to the company.

But Ash's managerial failures at Litton and the conflicts surrounding Litton's disputes with the Navy are really less important than the serious questions that have been raised about his personal integrity. Allegations of fraud, several lawsuits, a questionable land-swapping deal with the federal government, and insider stock trading all add up to a picture of dubious personal conduct. Each of the incidents described below has received wide public attention recently, with *The Washington Post* taking the lead in exploring Ash's earlier wheeling and dealing.

While working at Hughes Aircraft along with Charles (Tex) Thornton from 1949 to 1953, Ash was involved in what Morton Mintz of *The Washington Post* described as an "epic executive suite struggle" over a series of allegedly irregular accounting practices at Hughes Aircraft Division. The result of this dispute has been two major lawsuits—one of which probably will be retried this spring.

Ash's troubles began during the summer of 1951 when one of his subordinates, James O. White, began to notice irregularities in the Aircraft Division's accounting system. White eventually confronted Ash with the irregularities, which Ash had allegedly ordered. Ash, however, temporarily convinced White that the procedures were, in fact, perfectly proper. "Ash is one of the world's great talkers. . . . He will go into oratory . . . that we really weren't cheating the government . . . and that there were even times when I went away believing it," White reportedly said.

Eventually, the disputed accounting methods, involving an Air Force contract, broke into open warfare between Ash and White's immediate superior, C. E. Ryker, manager of the Aircraft Division's accounting. Ryker was upset because Ash was apparently ordering the Hughes accountants to overcredit certain inventory accounts. Simply put, the accountants recorded larger withdrawals of material from the inventory than actually occurred. Hence, Hughes could claim that it was using larger amounts of material to complete its work for the Air Force than was the case. Since Hughes's contract called for the payment of all costs plus 10 per cent profits, Ash's overcrediting of the inventory accounts permitted Hughes to collect extra cash. Ash wasn't kidding—his allegedly phony accounting methods enabled Hughes to collect an extra $43 million on the Air Force contract!

One would expect a corporate executive accused of collecting excess payments from the government to deny the allegation. But not Roy Ash. He conceded to *New York Times* reporter Wallace Turner that he had allowed the collection of $43 million more than Hughes was entitled to receive. But, he claimed, doing so did not violate the terms of the contract; he had set up the special fund simply to hold the extra loot until a contract renegotiation had been completed. (Eventually an embarrassed Hughes Aircraft Company did repay the $43 million to the Air Force.)

Surprisingly, Ash's allegedly devious accounting methods were designed not only to hoodwink the Air Force but also the home office of the Hughes Tool Company. According to White, in preparing monthly reports to the home office, Ash again ordered that the books be juggled to cover up the alleged overcrediting and also to make the Aircraft Division's profits look brighter. "They were entries that were just false entries," White said. "I have heard Roy Ash say, 'make an entry debiting so-and-so and crediting so-and-so,' and half an hour or two hours later or so the entry was in my hand and there were just

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the figures needed to balance the predetermined profits." Ash ignored White's numerous protests by saying, "You've got to make them. Thornton promised the Tool Company so much money this month and we'll make it. So here's the entry . . . you put it in the book."

Eventually the dissatisfaction among White and other executives in the accounting department was brought to the attention of Noah Dietrich, executive vice president of Hughes Tool and for many years a personal confidant of the tycoon recluse, Howard Hughes. According to Dietrich, Tex Thornton acknowledged the alleged book juggling, explaining that the accounts were adjusted to reflect the 10 per cent profit allowed by the Air Force. Dietrich expressed total dissatisfaction with the Ash-Thornton operation by charging, "You are improperly borrowing money from the Air Force on which you are not paying interest."

When all the top accountants of the Aircraft Division of Hughes Tool threatened to quit, Dietrich summoned Thornton for a showdown. Dietrich quotes Thornton as saying, "Noah, I want to tell you in confidence that we are actually making more than 30 per cent on this contract, and, in order to keep it we are going to hide it some place and the best place to hide it is in the inventory accounts."

In 1962, in connection with another lawsuit, Dietrich provided a deposition to an attorney in which he described the entire accountants' revolt and the alleged irregularities encouraged and managed by Ash and Thornton. In a December 1962 press release, Thornton charged that Dietrich had been "maliciously defamatory" and filed a $40 million slander suit. Twelve thousand Litton employees were informed in a letter from the company that Dietrich had made "irresponsible and malicious attacks" on Thornton (Thornton, with Ash, was a co-founder of Litton). The giant conglomerate declared that the accusation that the Air Force had been overcharged was "completely false."

However, Thornton's slander suit was rejected by a Los Angeles court in September 1966. On the basis of Litton's letter and Thornton's public statements, Dietrich filed a $1 million countersuit accusing Litton and Thornton of libel. After a two-month trial in early 1968, Dietrich was awarded punitive damages of $5 million against Thornton and $1 million against Litton.

After a great deal of complex legal maneuvering, a new trial was eventually ordered. It will probably begin some time later this spring and once again all of the ins and outs connected with the Ash-Thornton scandal at Hughes Aircraft should be aired publicly.

Commenting on Ash's activities at Hughes, one veteran Washington reporter said that "the record, which has never been persuasively refuted, is one of knowing, active falsification of records with the purpose of defrauding the government" by Ash while at Hughes Aircraft.

After Thornton and Ash left Hughes Aircraft in 1953, they went on to found Litton Industries, which would grow to the multibillion-dollar, yet troubled, conglomerate that it is today. They brought along with them two other men—Hugh W. Jamieson, a former Hughes Aircraft engineer, and Emmett P. Steele, who had been Hughes's lobbyist at the Pentagon. In 1959, Steele sued Jamieson, Thornton and Ash, charging that they had deprived him of his rightful share of Litton stock. Claiming that he was a co-founder of the company, Steele alleged that he was entitled to some of the stock at a price of 10¢ a share—which stock had been sold to Thornton, Ash and Jamieson. The 10¢ stock was now worth hundreds of dollars per share.

The chief issue in the Steele trial, which opened in October 1964, was whether or not Steele was a co-founder of Litton. Charles V. Litton, the owner of the tiny electronics firm which was the first building block of the mammoth empire, testified that he had sold his company to four individuals, one of them Steele. The majority of a California jury that heard the evidence voted to award Steele $7.6 million. But since the jury's vote was 9 to 3, the minimum number permissible under California law, the judge accepted a motion for a new trial.

The new trial, set for September of last year, was delayed when Steele died several weeks before it was scheduled to open. On October 5, a week after President Nixon announced Ash's appointment as director of the Office of Management and Budget, Thornton and Ash agreed to settle out of court for $2.4 million. When questioned about the quick settlement after his appointment to the directorship of OMB, Ash told *The New York Times* that he feared a jury might return a verdict for a still larger sum. "I think when one comes up against a widow and an orphan case as this is, the defendants just have to look at the experience others have had in similar circumstances," Ash told the *Times*. "This is quite a different issue than the merits or the justice of the case."

Ash's problems with the government have not been confined either to the Defense Department or the courts; they also include some questionable wheeling and dealing with the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management. In late 1969, Ash and Thornton paid $142,000 for 22 acres of land in Point Reyes, Calif.—an area that the Park Service was attempting to acquire as part of a 55,000-acre National Seashore. On December 6, 1969, Ash and Thornton swapped their 22 acres of potential seashore land for 14,145 acres of ranch land in Nevada, adjoining the T-Lazy S Ranch which the two men already owned. While Ash and Thornton thus acquired the Nevada land in 1969 for about $10 an acre, less than a year later land in the immediate area sold for $15 an acre. According to Jerry Hendershot, a Bureau of Land Management official in Nevada, such ranch land is commonly selling today for $25 to $30 an acre. While no one necessarily condemns Ash and Thornton for their clever business dealing, it is interesting to note that of thirty-seven proposed land swaps in Nevada, only one—Ash and Thornton's—was actually permitted by the Interior Bureau of Land Management. (It comes as no surprise that reports are still circulating that Ash and Thornton used a great deal of their considerable political leverage on the Interior Department to force the swap through.) In fact, it is now reliably reported that the Bureau of Land Management no longer permits interstate land swaps. Ash and Thornton were extremely

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lucky to get in just in time; they appear to have tripled their money in five years.

Since assuming the office of director of Management and Budget, Ash has been slapped with another civil lawsuit charging him and Thornton with defrauding the owners of some of the businesses Litton acquired during its spectacular growth in the late 1950s and 1960s. While Litton claims that the suit has "no merit," if the massive class action is successful, judgments could result in the awarding of more than $100 million in damages.

The suit has been filed by the estate of John B. Rauen, a Los Angeles industrialist whose Chainveyor Corporation was acquired in 1967 in exchange for Litton's convertible preference stock. The suit charges that Litton manipulated its business to drive up the price of the special preferred stock, thus permitting Ash and Thornton to acquire various new companies for a relatively small number of shares. If the stock had been traded at its alleged "true value," those selling out to Litton would have acquired a larger bloc of the shares.

Ash and Thornton are also charged with breaking a pledge to redeem 3 per cent of the 7 million shares of the convertible preference stock annually. The suit alleges that this was to be done on a graduated price schedule, beginning in 1967 at $51 per share. Unfortunately for businessmen who gave up stock in companies that Litton absorbed, the convertible preference shares are now worth only $15 a share.

To top off Ash's sundry legal problems, disputes with the Navy and questionable land swaps, he may have violated the Securities and Exchange Commission regulation on stock trading by insiders. Federal law prohibits any individual to trade stock on the basis of so-called "insiders' information" that is not available to other stockholders or the general public.

The facts of this case are quite simple: between March and December 1970, according to Securities and Exchange Commission documents, Ash sold 86,797 shares of common stock. At the time Ash was selling these large amounts of stock, evidence was already available—privately but not publicly to the stockholders—that Litton's shipbuilding program in Pascagoula was in trouble.

In May 1969, Litton was awarded the $1.3 billion contract to build nine landing helicopter assault ships. By early 1971 a confidential General Accounting Office staff study based on 1970 data revealed that the LHA program was behind schedule, and at the same time the Navy was also considering canceling four of the nine ships. The cancellation eventually did occur, thus considerably boosting the price per remaining ship. Based on its 1970 findings, the GAO warned that "close surveillance should be maintained over oncoming shipbuilding programs, such as thirty DD963 destroyers, which are scheduled for production in the same shipyard."

As the shipbuilding program slowly sank, Ash was unloading stock rapidly. His largest sales occurred the month before and the month after Litton was awarded a $2.1 billion contract to build the thirty destroyers. Stocks valued at approximately $2.6 million were sold at an average price of $19 a share—higher than the current $10 per share value.

While Ash was unloading huge amounts of stock and problems were mounting on the LHA program, Litton lowered its bid $262 million for the thirty destroyers. Litton's sudden reduction of its bid may indicate that the company was involved in some sort of buy-in. A buy-in, simply stated, is a silent deal between the military and the contractor to sign at a price that they know perfectly well is too low and then eventually renegotiate a higher price at a later date.

During this whole period Ash was painting an optimistic picture of the company's defense business in his annual report to the stockholders: "Our marine operations became profitable in fiscal 1970 and we look forward to continued profits and increased sales during the 70's.

We begin fiscal 1971 with long-term contracts in excess of $3 billion for work to be performed in Litton's newest and the world's most automated shipbuilding facilities. . . . The management, scientific, engineering, production and marketing talent now assembled at Litton is the strongest we have ever had."

While no one has accused Ash of dishonesty in the stock sales, his trading deserves to be investigated by the SEC for possible violation of federal law. SEC Chairman William J. Casey has agreed to begin a preliminary inquiry.

In sum, the case that Mr. Ash should not be the direc-

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tor of OMB is impressive. President Nixon, however, chooses to ignore Ash's conflicts of interest and is apparently unconcerned about the serious allegations which have been leveled against him—some of which he freely admits are true.

Mr. Ash's activities obviously deserve additional study by Congressional investigators in an attempt to resolve the validity of many of the accusations and allegations that have been made. If such an investigation were held, it is much more likely that the full and true story of Ash's activities would come to light. Undoubtedly Ash deserves an opportunity to explain to the Congress and to the American people his rationale for many of his questionable actions. It should be an interesting story. □

'GOOD YEARS DOWN THE DRAIN'

CHICANERY IN PRIVATE PENSIONS

FRED J. COOK
Mr. Cook, a long-time contributor to The Nation, *is the author of many books, including the recently published* The Nightmare Decade: The Life and Times of Senator Joe McCarthy (*Random House*).

Less than two months after the sophisticated ambushing last September of a reform bill that promised a fairer due for 30 million American workers covered by private pension plans, Mrs. Peter W. Shiposh, of Franklin Lakes, N.J., wrote a letter that tells its own story about the continuing human cost of Congressional inaction. Mrs. Shiposh informed Sen. Harrison A. Williams (D., N.J.), chairman of the Senate's Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, of the plight facing some 1,200 workers this coming June 15 when the Raybestos Manhattan Rubber Company is scheduled to close its plants in Passaic, N.J., and Bridgeport, Conn. Mrs. Shiposh wrote:

> My husband will have worked there nearly 34 years. In June . . . he will be only 1½ months from retirement. Their [pension] contract reads that they must have worked 30 years and be 60 years of age for retirement. My husband is entitled to six weeks vacation which would bring him within weeks of being 60 years of age. All the company is offering is 1 week's pay for each 2 years that he has worked. . . .
>
> Unless something can be done about this, it will mean selling our home because of the high property taxes. I am not able to work any longer. My social security benefit is $78.20 per month. This will not even cover our yearly property taxes.

The Shiposh family had plenty of companions in misfortune, since a sizable percentage of the Raybestos force had put in long years with the company. Rudolph Johansky, of Clifton, N.J., wrote Senator Williams that he had been with the firm thirty-six years, but since he was only 55, he like Shiposh was being denied his pension. "Eventually, in the near future, I'll have to sell our home to survive . . . ," he wrote, adding, though "I'm a skilled man, a job will be hard to find at my age."

A more indignant letter came from Albert L. Janiec, of Wallington, N.J., who had been with the company thirty-two years and was 58 years old:

> What are we to do? We can't live on air today. Not the way prices are. Right now you're probably saying what does this man want. I want satisfaction from the government. I want to see what it can do for people as it always says it does. When you need the government to help it never can. . . .
>
> All the good years we put into the company went down the drain. All our life dreams are gone. You can't retire without money. Can't you help us somehow? Is this company going to be able to desert its employees and ruin many a good life and dream?

As the record of the last Congress shows, Janiec's bitter and moving letter should have had some special relevance for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and Sen. Russell B. Long (D., La.), chairman of the powerful Senate Finance Committee—collaborators in the parliamentary sabotaging of a bipartisan pension reform bill, written by Senators Williams and Jacob K. Javits (R., N.Y.) and co-sponsored when it reached the floor by forty-six members of the Senate.

The Williams-Javits bill was the product of nearly three years of investigation and numerous public hearings at which both embittered employees and their sometimes defensive employers were heard. The record demonstrated that literally millions of American workers have been deluded into believing they were going to receive pensions they will never get. [See "The Pension Mirage" by Merton C. Bernstein, *The Nation,* June 15, 1964.] Some pension plans build up the dream by portraying retirement as "the golden years" of their workers' lives, but two comprehensive staff studies showed this reality:

Fifty-one pension plans covering 6.9 million workers since 1950 had given only 4 per cent of those covered "any kind of normal, early or deferred" benefits. Even thirty-six better structured plans have paid normal, anticipated benefits to only 8 per cent of the 2.9 million workers covered.

The reasons for the gap between expectations and fulfillment are as infinite as the vagaries in the fine print of pension contracts. A worker, for example, may be "guaranteed" a pension after thirty years' service—but only if he is by then 60 years old or 65 as the case may be. If his company folds in the interim, or is merged with another, or moves its plant into a cheap-labor area in the South, the worker loses all. He has, under most plans, no "vested" right to the pension funds that have accumulated in his name during long years of his working life.

Another major flaw in most plans is their failure to

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allow for "portability." This means that when a worker moves from one employer to another, he carries with him none of his accumulated pension benefits. This lack of "portability" has become an increasingly serious flaw in an ever more mobile society—in a business world in which, as particularly electronics and aerospace engineers have discovered, the job closes out under one and employment must be sought elsewhere.

There seems to be little justification for such inequities. The American private pension system represents the greatest aggregate of unregulated wealth in the nation. Assets now amount to some $150 billion and grow by about $10 billion annually. Yet the only regulations covering pension plans require simply that they register and report their assets to the U.S. Labor Department.

The Williams-Javits bill, entitled the Retirement Income Security for Employees Act, would have created an Office of Pension and Welfare Plan Administration in the Labor Department. It would have provided stricter standards for pension plan administrators, to prevent the kind of hanky-panky with pension funds that has often taken place in the past. It called for insurance of the funds. It specified that, once a fund has been in existence for thirty years, it must have sufficient assets to meet all its obligations to its employees if the plant should close overnight. It provided for vesting. An employee with eight years' service would be guaranteed the benefit of at least 30 per cent of the funds accumulated in his name when he reached retirement age. After ten years, he would be guaranteed 50 per cent; after fifteen years, 100 per cent.

The bill also contained provisions for "portability," but these were voluntary—in itself an indication that this was no extreme measure. Indeed, Sen. Robert P. Griffin (R., Mich.) was later to contend on the Senate floor that the proposals did not go far enough and that the Senate should consider the more wide-reaching provisions that he advocated.

A major criticism of the bill, expressed by Senator Griffin and others, is that its vesting provisions would not take effect immediately. The bill provides a three-year grace period before vesting would become effective. It also permits a further five-year delay if a plan administrator can demonstrate to the Secretary of Labor that the vesting provisions would cost so much as to endanger the plan.

"We felt these provisions were necessary," a staff expert says, "because the issue is so complex there simply has to be a grace period to permit plans to regear themselves for vesting. It cannot be done overnight." He points out also that workers 45 or older will be fully vested under the plan for all of their years of service after the three-year grace period ends. And to another objection—that companies can weed out older workers during the grace period—he replies: "There is no way to prevent that. They are doing that now; we've shown time and again that, when workers reach 64, say, and are within a few months of retirement, there's a premium in getting rid of them and their jobs are terminated. After our plan with its vesting provisions goes into effect, this temptation would be removed."

Despite the feeling in some quarters that the Williams-Javits bill was not the ideal solution, there was general agreement that it marked a major breakthrough in the long-unregulated pension jungle. The bill was approved by the unanimous vote of the full Senate Labor Committee on September 15, 1972. Almost immediately, a behind-the-scenes effort began to scuttle it. On September 18, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to every member of the Senate Finance Committee. It began:

> As a matter of public interest in sound private pension legislation and on behalf of the entire membership, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States requests the Senate Finance Committee to assert its jurisdiction over the various legislative proposals on vesting, funding, reinsurance and portability of private pension plans. We are constrained to make this urgent request because of reports that the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare will seek, in the near future, Senate passage of its omnibus-type bill. . . . The

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Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee have historically had jurisdiction over private pension legislation. . . .

This "urgent request" from the powerful Chamber of Commerce had a magical effect upon Senator Long. The very next day, September 19, in an exchange on the floor of the Senate, he laid claim to the bill and asked that it be referred to his committee. Senators Williams and Javits, taken by surprise, "reluctantly" yielded, but warily tacked on to their consent a provision that the bill not be bottled up in the Finance Committee for more than one week.

Senator Long didn't need a week. On September 25, without holding a single hearing, his conservative-dominated Finance Committee reported out an altered measure, from which all of the reform provisions in the original Williams-Javits bill were stricken. This emasculated version called only for registration and disclosure—provisions not noticeably different from those already on the statute books that have proved so inadequate.

The Finance Committee's action provoked a rare mini-hurricane on the floor of the Senate. All the proprieties of "the gentlemen's club" were, of course, observed, but Senator Long was thoroughly scorched by implication. Sen. Marlow W. Cook (R., Ky.) denounced "the irresponsible action" of the Finance Committee, and then, on second thought, added that he found it "not only irresponsible but entirely incredible." Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the most mild-mannered of men, said contemptuously that Long's Finance Committee version "is not worth the paper it is printed on," and pledged to make the original Williams-Javits bill a priority item in the present session of Congress.

Senator Javits in an angry speech ridiculed the manner in which the Finance Committee had claimed jurisdiction over the bill "in the 59th minute of the 11th hour." The proposed pension reforms, he said, had no relation to tax matters that might fall appropriately within the province of the Finance Committee. They sought only to protect the rights of the American workingman, and this, by both historical precedent and common sense, was the task of the Labor Committee.

Javits added: "After one week, in a closed-door session, on a voice vote and without any hearings, the Committee on Finance sent the bill back to the floor with the recommendation that every key provision in it be stricken. It will take a magician to demonstrate how the action of the Finance Committee is a service to our country and the American workingman. . . ." In a second speech, Javits returned to the attack, pointing out that, while the Senate fiddled, hamstrung by Long's obstructionism, American workers continued to be victimized in the most callous and brutal fashion.

Javits' illustrative case history involved the Hickok Manufacturing Company of Rochester, N.Y., makers of men's leather goods and jewelry. The business, originally family-owned, had established a pension plan in 1963 and had insured it with the Connecticut Mutual Insurance Company. There were no vesting provisions in the plan, and workers had to be 65 to collect their promised pensions.

Changes in corporate ownership soon began to whittle away at even this promise. Hickok was sold first to P. J. Parker Associates in 1970 and then, in 1971, to the Tandy Corporation, a Fort Worth, Tex., conglomerate. Trouble swiftly followed this second sale. Tandy decided to phase out the Rochester operation, leaving Hickok workers in limbo. Some thirty retired workers between the ages of 65 and 80 were notified that their pensions would be cut in half. Life insurance policies that had been carried for them under the pension plan were also terminated. Another 400 workers, unprotected by vesting provisions, were told that they would get nothing. As Javits informed the Senate, "a substantial number . . . who will be entitled to nothing have worked for Hickok for over fifteen years, many over twenty-five years, and they are all older people."

All of this had happened, Javits noted, at a time—the last six months of 1971—when Tandy's "net income increased by more than one-third. Income rose from $7.23 to $9.85 million. . . . And it is interesting to note that in July of 1971, when Tandy purchased Hickok, Tandy's stock split 2 for 1."

It may have been the best of all possible worlds for money barons like those represented by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, but it was a world of tragedy, hopelessness, frustration and increasing cynicism for the American worker. Just a few months before introduction of his reform bill, Senator Williams had held a hearing in Newark in May 1972, on the closing of the P. Ballantine & Sons brewery, which had employed 1,495 workers.

James Ancypowic, 49, of Randolph Township, N.J., who had been a salaried supervisor at Ballantine's for twenty-five years, explained how employees were double-shuffled when they tried to find out what had happened to their promised pensions. Fortunately, Ancypowic, an intelligent man, had kept a file of correspondence, documenting the major points he made in his testimony.

Ancypowic had saved pension literature from as far back as 1952, describing for employees just how wonderful their "golden years" were to be. By 1971, however, it became obvious that the brewery was in trouble, its losses mounting into the millions. Management explained the situation to the workers, and the workers agreed, as several testified, to forgo wage raises under their contract, to cut back on vacations, to accept a number of firings. All of this was to save the brewery nearly half a million dollars, with the understanding that, if Ballantine was sold, it would not be a deal just for the label and good will—but for the plant itself and the jobs that went with it.

Supervisors like Ancypowic, apprehensive about the future, held a conference with management in an attempt to clarify their pension status. They got no clear answers, Ancypowic testified, but were told that management was working out a new plan for them and they would soon get literature in the mail describing it. The literature never came.

Suspicious, Ancypowic began writing letters. The original Pension Trust Plan had been established with the Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company in 1946. This company informed Ancypowic that the funds had been transferred from it to the Prudential Insurance Com-

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pany in Newark. Prudential advised the letter-writing Ancypowic that the fund had been shifted again, at the end of 1969, to Citadel Life Insurance Company of New York. Citadel, it happened, was a subsidiary of Investors Funding Corporation of New York, the firm that in June 1969, six months before the last fund shift, had purchased the Ballantine brewery.

This game of financial bean-bag left Ancypowic understandably disturbed. Following the company's advice, he had been reporting on his income tax returns contractual raises that had gone into the pension fund. He now began to wonder whether this money, which he had never seen and on which he had paid taxes, was still in existence. He wrote Howard W. Pines, director of industrial relations at Ballantine, a series of searching questions. He got back this answer: "Due to the complexity of the questions you have asked I have sent your letter to our Legal Department to review." And that was that. The Legal Department remained mute.

Such was the situation in the spring of 1972 when Ballantine was sold to Falstaff—not the entire business as the workers testified they had been promised when they accepted their cutbacks but just the label and good will. This meant that the Newark brewery would be closed, the men out of jobs. Falstaff found work for approximately half of the Ballantine people, but the rest, men like Ancypowic, were thrown out of work, were completely in the dark about their pensions—and were bitter.

Testimony by various company officials developed this picture: there was simply not enough money in the pension fund to pay Ballantine workers all of the benefits they had been "guaranteed" under the program. It was conceded that the brewery had made no contributions to the pension fund during 1966, 1967 and 1968 because, allegedly, it had been advised by its actuaries that "the fund had ample assets." These "ample assets" obviously had been a myth. Ballantine workers who had already retired would continue to get their pensions because annuities had been purchased for them, but many employees, men like Ancypowic with long years of service, would have to suffer. They might get 80 per cent of what they had been promised, but there was no certainty about it. Summarizing his feelings, Ancypowic wrote the committee: "It's a shame to see so many good, devoted people spend so many of their best years in the service of their company, retire, only to find what was told them to be an excellent security and reality turn out to be false security and a myth."

Ongoing disasters of this kind, coming at the very time that Senator Long's committee was blocking reform, added fuel to the outrage in the Senate. Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) and Birch Bayh (D., Ind.), both of whom had sought the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972, told the Senate that, in their talks to workers at plant gates, they had found that no issue had aroused and incensed the American workingman as much as that of false pension promises.

Humphrey told the Senate: "Many a company has kept back money in a fund, called a pension retirement withholding, that belonged to an employee, and that worker has lost every dollar that his union negotiated for him in terms of pension funds. . . . Mr. President, in my home city of Minneapolis, thousands of workers—literally thousands—have been affected by the loss of their pension funds."

For the victims, said Humphrey, "It was as if somebody had robbed the bank. It was as if somebody had, in a sense, taken their billfold and all their savings."

He expressed his contempt for the Long committee's action: "The political and economic forces gathered around these two entirely different bills on pension reform explain an apparent stalemate in further legislative action to which, it has been reported, the Administration is not averse. . . . But where is any sense of public responsibility to be found in this legerdemain?"

Senator Long, in defending his committee's action, charted a course of intransigence that he is expected to follow in the new session of Congress. He argued that pension reform should not be in the hands of the Labor Committee because that committee "is more strongly oriented toward labor than any other committee in the Senate." He argued that "there are those of us who feel this matter should be handled as a revenue measure, which includes the President of the United States, his Administration, all the business-oriented groups, the Chamber of Commerce groups, the manufacturing groups and, I would think, even the consumer groups . . . because the costs will be added to the products they purchase."

Extending his argument that pension reform impinges on tax matters, Long asserted that any bill relating to the subject should originate in the House Ways and Means Committee—and then be referred, if passed by the House, to his Finance Committee. Since the House has not even reported a pension bill to the floor, this tactic would insure an almost indefinite stall.

This technique of parliamentary sabotage, exercised on behalf of the strong and the rich, presages another and probably more heated battle in the present 93rd session of Congress. The original Williams-Javits pension bill was reintroduced, word for word, at the opening session of the new Congress on January 4. A two-day hearing was conducted February 15-16 to marshal support for the bill. Representatives of major unions like the Auto Workers and the Steelworkers testified in favor of the measure, as did spokesmen for older citizens. Several Senators who support the bill also testified. The hearings laid the groundwork for the anticipated decision of the labor committee to report the bill to the floor of the Senate for action.

Fifty-two Senators are already on record as co-sponsors of the measure. They include Senators of every political persuasion. One of the bill's supporters is Sen. Peter H. Dominick (R., Colo.), generally considered one of the most conservative men in the Senate and an Administration supporter. As Senator Mansfield promised last September, the bill has been given a high priority. It is Senate Bill No. 4, and if it is reported out in the early days of the present Congressional session, it will be less vulnerable to the kind of tactics that killed it off in the last-minute logjam last fall.

A howl, of course, will go up for further study to deter-

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mine whether pension reforms are needed. Anticipating that ploy, Senator Williams says: "I question with all sincerity how long one can study, and restudy, and still continue to study, in order to ascertain the existence and effects of these problems." The facts, as developed during his committee's three-year investigation, Williams says, "are abundant and clear. They need no further clarity or interpretation, and they have no hidden meaning. The proofs of these problems are self-evident, and their disastrous effects are visible to all those who wish to see." □

OF MEN AND NATIONS

THE SCIENCE OF NONVIOLENCE

JOHN PAUL SCOTT
Mr. Scott, regents professor of psychology at Bowling Green (Ohio) University and director of Center for Research on Social Behavior, is the author of Animal Behavior, Aggression, *and with John L. Fuller* Genetics and the Development of Social Behavior in the Dog *(all University of Chicago Press).*

For the past several years, symposia on various aspects of violence have been a regular feature of meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Some of these meetings have been disrupted by radical activists who suspected, usually without foundation, that speakers would blame minority groups for the current violence. One of the latest of these symposia, organized by the International Society for the Study of Group Tensions, had a very different outlook.

No one proposed grand and global solutions to the problems of violence. Rather, each researcher spoke about certain special aspects of the problem. To the listener this may have been confusing. One science writer wrote of the events under the headline: "Americans are violent. Science doesn't know why." That is quite incorrect. Although they may not have put the message across, scientists are now generally agreed that violence has multiple causes, most of which are known in general, if not in detail. That this information is complex and confusing is merely typical of one of the major problems in understanding modern life, i.e., how to comprehend multiple causation.

Trying to understand a particular case of violence is especially confusing, since it may involve fifteen or twenty possible causes and require months to determine which of them are important. For example, a sniper who killed several people on the University of Texas campus a few years ago was himself killed. An autopsy eventually discovered a tumor in a region of his brain known to be associated with violent behavior. People who knew the sniper recalled that he had spoken of impulses toward violence some time before he actually broke loose. Obviously, the brain tumor could have been a major precipitating cause, but scarcely the only one. What about, for example, easy access to high-powered hunting rifles and ammunition? In another social environment the same individual might have attacked one or two people and killed no one. In Hopi Indian society even the thought of violence is considered wrong, and few weapons are available. On one occasion, a Hopi man became violent and began threatening people with an ax. His neighbors were lucky enough to get out of his way until someone was brave enough to disarm him. The damage that such deranged individuals do is limited by the availability of weapons, and an obvious remedy is to limit access to such weapons.

At the symposium Amitai Etzioni, a sociologist from Columbia University, proposed internal disarmament of the United States, pointing out that the great majority of homicides in this country are committed with handguns, not by habitual criminals but impulsively in the course of quarrels among relatives and friends.

The use of violence as a tool to obtain certain ends—whether it be the mugger on the street using violence to obtain money, or the United States in Vietnam attempting to influence the politics of Eastern Asia—presents a different problem. Its solution is directly indicated by the laws of operant conditioning. Men tend to repeat behavior that is rewarded or reinforced, and the remedy is to insure that the resort to violence does not pay off. An evident way to do this is to improve the function of the police force, and Morton Bard of the City University of New York reported that police success at managing interpersonal conflicts can be markedly improved by training, with a consequent reduction of injury and death.

At the symposium there were some echoes of the older theories of single rather than multiple causation. Among these was the theory of original sin—one speaker actually used this term—the assumption that man is inherently evil, or at least that his basic biological impulses must be restrained and diverted from destruction by the forces of civilization. Actually, if there is one point on which all researchers into the biology of violence can agree, it is that animal species evolve in the direction of applying violence in useful and adaptive ways, which ordinarily means reducing it to symbolic and nondangerous forms. There is no reason to believe that the human species is any exception to this rule. Biologically, men are neither good nor evil. Rather, they are born with the capacities to develop incredibly destructive behavior at one extreme, and amazingly cooperative and helpful behavior at the other. The outcome depends largely on the social environments in which they grow up and live.

Police action, valuable though it may be, is only a small part of a wider understanding of the control of violence. A more general principle, repeatedly verified both by animal experiments and human observation, is that a major cause of destructive violence is social disorganization.

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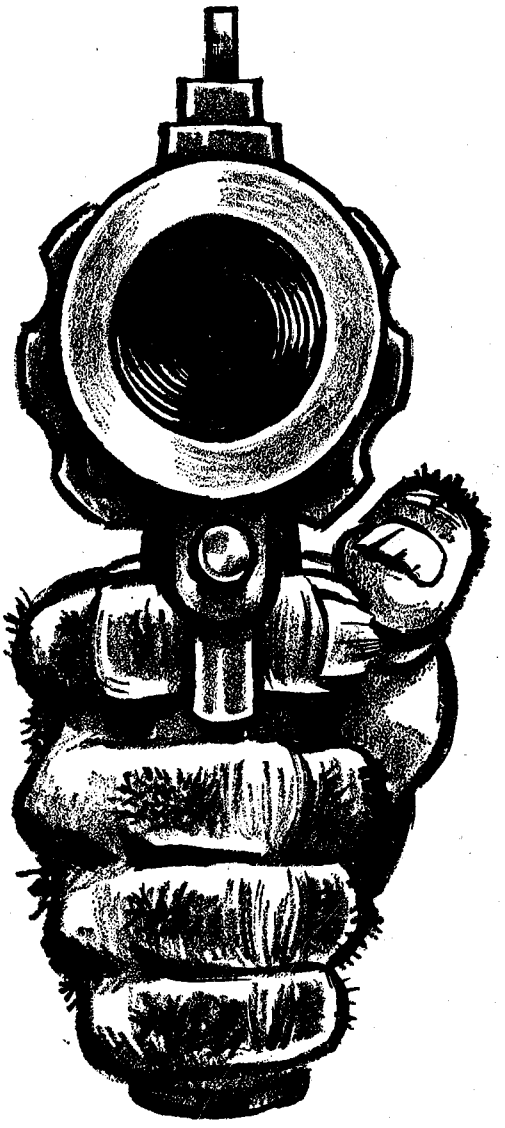
This in itself provides a clue to a general principle that unifies the facts of multiple causation. Experimental work with animal societies, whether they be flocks of hens, schools of fish or troops of primates, shows that in stable, well-organized groups individuals show almost no destructively violent behavior, and indeed spend little time on aggressive behavior of any kind. On the other hand, if the organization of a group is disturbed, violence may break out. In a troop of rhesus monkeys, if one of the dominant males dies or is deliberately removed from the group, fighting, sometimes producing serious wounds, breaks out and continues until organization is restored. If strange fish are introduced into aquariums containing a few "Jack Dempsey" fish, the amount of fighting will increase 200 or 300 per cent. Social organization can be disturbed in many other ways, as by crowding a group of mice into an area so inadequate that the normal social organization will no longer function, or by moving a colony into unfamiliar surroundings.

Similar phenomena are easy to verify in human societies. High rates of violent crime are associated with the breakdown of social organization. Boys growing up in families disorganized by divorce, death or desertion have much higher possibilities of becoming juvenile delinquents. Every large city is troubled by high crime areas. These may be neighborhoods peopled by large numbers of recent immigrants, for whom organization between families and individuals has broken down, or they may be the skid row areas, inhabited by homeless wanderers who have long since dropped out of family organization. Indeed, our society has a built-in developmental period, during which the young leave their homes for several years before settling down to form new homes and families; and the great majority of violent crimes is committed by the 16-to-25-year-old age group. That does not mean that every individual of this age group, or every person in a socially disorganized area, will become violent. The principle of multiple causation always holds, and some will escape.



Bill Gardner, The Evening Star (Washington)

The importance of organizational disintegration at the social level suggests that disturbances or disaggregation of social systems may have their counterparts on other levels of organization. Certainly such accidents as brain tumors and lesions have disorganizing effects upon the physiological systems of the body, and mutations and chromosomal aberrations can disturb genetic systems to the point where some individuals become more prone to violence than others. In short, the general principle that destructive violence is the result of system disorganization at one or more levels of organization is generally upheld, and begins to make some sense out of the confusing facts of multiple causation.

The logical and obvious answer to problems created by the disorganization of a society is to create and maintain organization. Here again sound scientific knowledge is available, derived from several different fields of research, and beginning with the individual's own personal behavioral organization. Prevention is always better than cure, and there are many ways whereby individual violent behavior can be prevented.

It is particularly important to begin preventive control with young children. Physical punishment is one of the poorest methods, chiefly because it sets an example of violence. A child who is whipped for fighting may draw the inference that it is all right to be violent if, like your father, you are violent toward someone smaller and weaker than yourself. Further, pain is a stimulus that arouses defensive violence, and, while a child may be afraid to react violently against his father, he is likely to take it out on someone less formidable. When a child becomes violent, restraint is a much more effective means of control than corporal punishment.

Restraint is in turn related to a basic phenomenon originally observed by Pavlov in his research with conditional reflexes. This is passive inhibition, meaning that an individual learns to do nothing simply by doing nothing. A child restrained from being violent learns not to be violent. However, a far more efficient method of inducing nonviolent behavior is the positive one of stimulating constructive and enjoyable behavior.

Here another basic principle applies, one developed from B. F. Skinner's research on operant conditioning. It is the principle of reinforcement, that people will continue to do those things that are rewarding and stop doing those that are unrewarding or painful. Applied to the problem

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of violence, it has two implications, one of which has obvious connections with traditional systems of crime control. As I pointed out above, one cause of violence is that it has been found an effective tool to obtain certain rewards, as in armed robbery or rape. An honest and efficient police force can insure that such violent actions rarely if ever pay off, and any programs which improve the efficiency of police forces should therefore have an effect of reducing crime rates.

But second, and more important, rewards and reinforcements can be used to induce people to undertake positive and constructive activities. If, in order to stimulate such activity, we had to find out what each individual wanted as a reward, the task would be impossible. Fortunately, we have available a social invention which was discovered several thousand years ago and should be ranked with the discovery of fire and the wheel. That discovery is money. True, it will not buy everything, but it will buy enough to give it the powerful properties of a multiple reinforcer, with the individual determining how he wants to reward himself in spending it.

Over a period of centuries the use of money has been systematically developed to the point where it is now used to keep people at regular work, much of which is beneficial to the society concerned. The person who works an eight-hour day at an enjoyable and useful activity, and who receives in return an adequate monetary reward, is automatically affected by the principle of passive inhibition; of necessity, he learns to be peaceful. Furthermore, he has little time or energy left over for destructive violence, even if he feels drawn to it.

Modern bureaucratic and industrial organization is thus the most powerful inducement to peaceful behavior that has ever existed, and is far more effective than attempts to forestall or punish destructive activity by police action. In fact, the stable employment provided by a police force probably has more effect on its own members than they have on the individual criminal.

From these principles it follows that the best answer to the problems of criminal violence is stable employment for all, and particularly for the young males in the 16-to-25 age group who commit the majority of crimes. As Etzioni points out, it is no coincidence that unemployment rates run high in this age group, rising up to 20 per cent or 30 per cent among young men in some disadvantaged and minority groups. In short, if we really want to solve the problem of individual violence, we must make our politico-economic system work.

This conclusion rests on convergent lines of scientific evidence, all of which have broad biological bases. The first is that destructive violence is associated with system disruption on any level of organization. On the positive side, Pavlov long ago demonstrated that animals could learn not to react as well as to react to special signals. Applied to people, this principle means that peaceable children will, in similar situations, become peaceable adults.

The technique of inducing peaceful behavior in the young has two aspects. One is to indicate the acceptable limits of aggressive behavior by restraint and example rather than by physical punishment. The other rests on evidence collected by Skinner and his followers concerning the principles of reinforcement. The best way to stimulate positive and constructive behavior is to reward it, and the best way to reward such behavior in a modern society is to give money in return for constructive employment.

That does not mean poor pay for a menial and uninteresting job. Such conditions lead to an endless cycle of frustration and thus often to violence. You have to pay people with more than money, and one kind of pay is an interesting and therefore self-rewarding job.

That is easy to say, and saying is the only easy thing about it. Making our own or any other politico-economic system work is not a task that can be accomplished by a single Congressional appropriation and an intense effort limited to four or five years. Just to remedy our present problems will take at least a generation of raising all children under better conditions and preparing them for constructive rather than violent lives. Furthermore, social living is a process rather than a condition. Systems of any kind are maintained only by working on them, and social systems are no exception. Rather than looking forward to a static Utopia, where all problems have been solved and optimum conditions prevail throughout eternity, we must anticipate a life of effort, but effort that pays off at considerably higher rates than it does today.

The main importance of these findings is probably not their immediate technical effect, although that may be considerable, but the rational and scientific basis they provide for social change in the direction of a more egalitarian distribution of economic rewards. Those who have the good fortune to be relatively well off have strong selfish reasons for extending our affluence to others. If we really want to live in a nonviolent society we must solve the problem of poverty. At the very least, this means some form of guaranteed employment.

As I write this, news is coming in regarding what one hopes will be the final disengagement of the United States in Vietnam. How much influence the end of this long conflict will have on the incidence of individual violence in our society will probably never be known, but it is likely that the example of violence on an international scale has at least some effect on the behavior of individuals. As Jerome Singer of Yale University pointed out, people may model their actions on those of a national leader as well as on a parent, and an example of international good will is a better model for individual behavior than that of a President who dispenses bombs.

I should add that violence on the international level, whatever it means as a personal example, is a phenomenon quite different from individual violence, and that scientists know much less about controlling it, particularly when it comes to achieving results on a global scale. Nevertheless, some of the same general principles should apply. Controlling international violence can be achieved by organizing the world in such a way that the use of war as a tool will no longer pay off; and if nations can be encouraged to seek positive and constructive rather than destructive answers to their problems, there is hope for a nonviolent world. □

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PASSAMAQUODDY

A GOOD IDEA IS HARD TO KILL

KARL KEYERLEBER
Mr. Keyerleber, a Cleveland newspaperman and former college instructor, has long been interested in environmental problems.

When President Nixon spoke in his inaugural address of insuring a cleaner environment and meeting the nation's needs in new ways he wasn't singling out energy requirements, but the two phrases fit the subject so well that he might have been. Energy is a facet of national planning that obviously needs rethinking.

It may well be that looming brownouts and the rationing of electricity are parts of an industry smoke screen to mask a profit grab; nevertheless, the days of fossil fuels are numbered—at a century, two centuries or whatever term. And meanwhile, as long as they are burned, they will to some degree soil the atmosphere.

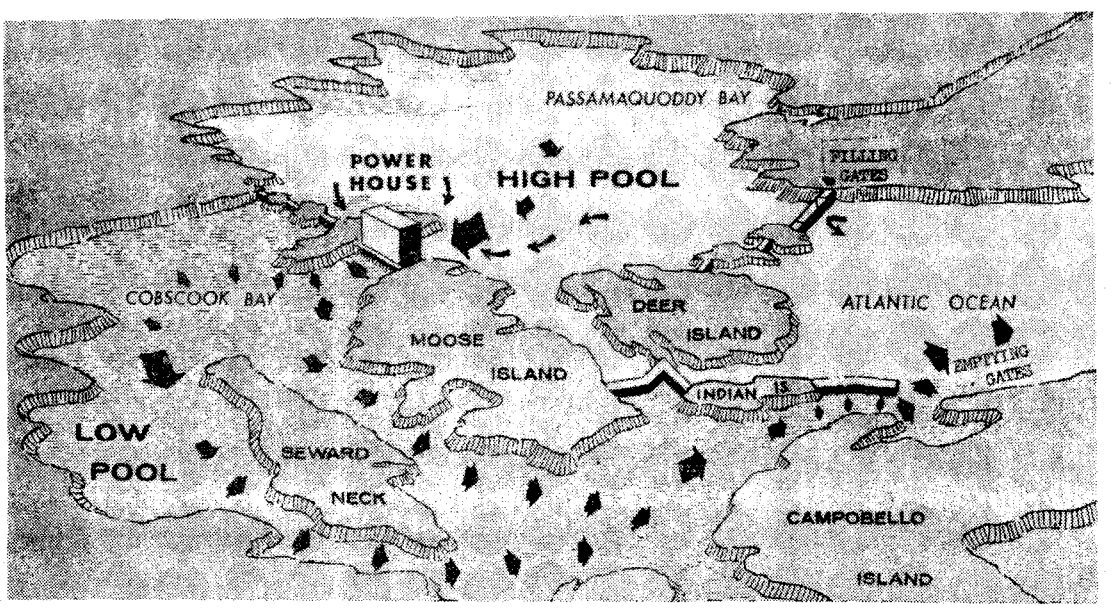
All primed to solve these problems was nuclear fission —until the suspicion grew that it posed an even greater threat to the environment than did the combustion of coal, oil and gas. Now every proposal for a new atomic installation is met by fierce opposition from groups of concerned citizens.

What is wanted is a supply of power that is inexhaustible and that won't pollute our air, our water or our food. Hydroelectric plants on the rivers have furnished such clean power for years. They have also flooded a lot of land, a side effect that has drawn the fire of conservationists. For a better solution there are natural resources of an untraditional kind that can be developed—the heat of the sun and of the earth's core, and the gravitational power of the moon. This last is the closest at hand, because the techniques for harnessing the moon's sway over the oceans are available and await only the will to use them.

The idea is not new. [See "Reviving Passamaquoddy" by William S. Ellis, *The Nation*, July 13, 1964.] Tidewater was put to work at least as long ago as 1066, when an enterprising miller in Dover, England, was using it to grind grain. A similar mill was built in this country in 1640 when, according to colonial histories, a Capt. William Traske located a "tyde mill" for grinding corn near the mouth of the North River in Salem, Mass.

The idea of harnessing the tide to generate electricity on a large scale is much newer. It was still novel fifty years ago, when two Americans began almost simultaneously to speculate about the possibility. One was a Boston hydroelectric engineer named Dexter P. Cooper; the other was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Both spent summers on Canada's Campobello Island where they could watch the sweep of towering tides, sometimes 50 feet high, that poured through rockbound inlets from the Bay of Fundy into the smaller Passamaquoddy Bay that lies between Maine and New Brunswick. Passamaquoddy, an Algonquin Indian name, has since stood for an idea that burned brightly several times but flickered out each time because financial and political winds blew cold. Its time had not come.

Cooper developed the basic plan for a tidal power plant on "Quoddy" back in 1919. In subsequent years he spent a small fortune making surveys and promoting the proposal in this country and Canada. Any American plan would need Canadian cooperation because most of the water area and some of the dam sites are north of the border. But Cooper was never able to stimulate action until Roosevelt became President. The sea-loving FDR probably knew the swift currents and eddies of the Passamaquoddy area more intimately than anyone else. On summer vacations he piloted the family's two sailboats through the narrow inlets, and on two occasions while he



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was Assistant Secretary of the Navy he shocked hardy sailors by taking the helm of destroyers and calling for full speed as he drove through tricky, rock-lined channels.

In 1935 President Roosevelt allocated $10 million (later cut to $7 million) to begin development of a power plant with preliminary work at Eastport, Me. Engineering surveys were made, roads built, utilities put in and a model village built to house the construction workers who were to follow. But they never followed, for in 1936 the Senate turned down an appropriation for further work. Critics, including spokesmen for the private power industry, called it "WPA moondoggling," attacked the high cost and questioned the need for so huge an undertaking. The price tag that seemed so prohibitive then is of somewhat macabre interest. It was $150 million. Estimates are that the project would now cost ten times that much—about $1.5 billion.

Other studies were made over the years, but Passamaquoddy remained in limbo. It wouldn't die but neither did it come to life. When John Kennedy became President he found on his desk a report by a joint United States-Canadian mission which had examined the proposal. The substance of this study was that Quoddy was not then economically feasible, "when evaluated by conventional methods of economic analysis as applied to hydroelectric projects," but that it had long-range possibilities "when other less costly energy resources available in the area have been fully realized." Kennedy, mapping his New Frontier, was unwilling to let such a challenging idea sink under the weight of that verbiage. He assigned Interior Secretary Stewart L. Udall to restudy the study. The Interior team concluded that the project *was* economically feasible, but attached a qualifier—that it be coupled with a dam and hydroelectric development on the upper St. John River in Maine.

Asked recently about that hedge, Udall said that he now believed Passamaquoddy could stand on its own, without the auxiliary river facility. "Tidal power has to be folded into another system, part of an interconnecting network," he explained. "The energy can't be held at the power plant. We didn't have a suitable system then, but it is in being today."

At any rate, the Secretary's report in 1963 urged Kennedy to seek Congressional authorization to build a power station on the bay and to begin negotiations with Canada for sharing the benefits. The cost was to be borne by this country. The plan then proposed, somewhat altered from Cooper's original proposal but retaining most of its main features, called for seven dams to control the flow of the tides between Fundy and the smaller bays of Passamaquoddy and Cobscook—about 7.5 miles of massive concrete barriers. Gates in the dams would close at high tide, and the water impounded in Passamaquoddy would be released through turbines into adjacent Cobscook Bay and eventually returned to the sea. Turbines operated on the outward flow of the tide would function much like a river installation that uses the head of water from a dam.

President Kennedy was enthusiastic: "I think that this can be one of the most astonishing and beneficial joint enterprises that the people of the United States have ever undertaken." He called the proposed interlocked dams and gates "an engineering marvel" and noted that it would attract tourists and raise the economic status of the northern woods country. That was in August 1963. Three months later Kennedy died in Dallas, and his powerful influence was lost to the Quoddy project, which once more returned to limbo.

Would it have been built if Kennedy had lived? Udall doesn't think the President's death was the decisive factor:

> There were a number of obstacles that made it too steep a hill to climb ten years ago. It was obvious that new technology was coming along and hadn't been tested.
>
> The Canadians were, to put it mildly, lukewarm at the time. They thought that if they built a tidal power facility it should be farther up the bay.
>
> Finally, there was all this optimism about nuclear power and it appeared the tidal power would be very expensive.
>
> In view of all this we didn't think we had the muscle to get the kind of investment we needed to launch Passamaquoddy.
>
> My feeling today is that we need to give much more attention to those forms of energy that are best from an environmental standpoint. Besides tidal they are geothermal—using the heat of the earth—and solar.

It seems incredible now that just ten years ago environmental considerations rated scarcely a thought. Today every proposal for a new power plant using fuel for energy is examined suspiciously by conservationists. At least three developments, in addition to environmental concern, make a new drive on behalf of Passamaquoddy inevitable. One is the rising curve of energy demand, another the fact that since the last Congressional turndown a tidal power plant has been put into operation. And the third is new technology that will greatly increase the power potential of Quoddy.

Industry projections indicate that demand for power will grow three times as fast as the population and that the United States will not be self-sufficient in energy for the rest of this century. Passamaquoddy could provide for new demand in all of New England for many years. The first tidal power plant was built by France. Its pioneering facility on the Gulf of St. Malo began producing electricity in 1967. The new technology mentioned by Udall includes improved high-voltage transmission facilities and advanced turbine designs, plus an innovation incorporated in the French plant that enables it to generate power on the flood as well as the ebb tide. If a similar technique were used at Quoddy it would greatly increase, if it did not double, output over the originally planned million kilowatts a day.

With the space program pegged at a lower level and the Vietnamese War seemingly ended, the financial muscle that could be put behind Quoddy would be far stouter than when Udall was involved. In view of the facts that a tidal plant wouldn't foul the environment and that, once built, it would produce relatively cheap power, the $1.5 billion cost may some day seem a great bargain. After all, we invested $20 billion to reach the moon. Having done so, it would be fitting if the United States were now to divert funds from that adventure to harness the moon's power here on earth. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

From Working Stiff to Labor Statesman

HARRY BRIDGES: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the U.S. *By Charles P. Larrowe. Lawrence Hill & Co. 404 pp. $8.95. Paper $3.95.*

AL RICHMOND
Mr. Richmond is a West Coast journalist and a former editor of People's World. *He is the author of* A Long View from the Left: Memoirs of an American Revolutionary, *being published this month by Houghton Mifflin Company.*

"Looking back over the whole of Bridges' life," says Charles P. Larrowe at the end of his biography of the West Coast labor leader, "he could . . . be ranked with the labor giants: Eugene Debs, Big Bill Haywood, John L. Lewis, and, incongruous as it might at first seem, Sam Gompers."

This encomium (qualified by the concession that history will render the final judgment) does, indeed, seem incongruous in its eclecticism. Yet it has merit in suggesting the man's complexity as well as the stature that made him the epitome of what was finest in the great labor uprising of the 1930s: militancy, democracy, incorruptibility, a breadth of social vision and concern that repudiated the Gompers tradition of "pure and simple trade unionism." To a generation of labor militants and radicals, Bridges was the authentic voice of the rank and file, the historical personification of a working class that would radically reconstruct American society.

The encomium also suggests the author's attitude: a blend of admiration and critical detachment, which served well as incentives for painstaking, voluminous research. Moreover, Larrowe, an economics professor at Michigan State University, had some background for the venture. He had previously done a scholarly study of hiring practices on the nation's docks. The result of all this is a readable, informed biography that enlarges the recorded history of the Left in the turbulent rise of the CIO. In the same genre are the recent autobiographies of Len DeCaux, national publicity director for the CIO in its first decade, and Wyndham Mortimer, a founding father of the United Auto Workers.

Larrowe's admiration of his subject was unrequited. After reading the book in manuscript Bridges dismissed it as "hardly more than a series of distortions, half-truths, and, in many cases, outright lies." This judgment may tell more about Bridges' idiosyncratic irascibility than it does about the book, and the cut is more unkind because Bridges declined to be interviewed, which might have made it easier for the biographer to ascertain the truth. Simultaneously, Bridges tacitly permitted the staff of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, over which he presides, to place the union's archives and other facilities at Larrowe's disposal. Thus he helped insure a well-informed biography, even as he retained the prerogative to repudiate it.

In refusing to talk to Larrowe about himself Bridges adhered to a rigid, longstanding rule, broken just once in recent decades. The only journalist or writer to whom he granted a personal interview (and a very extensive one) was the obituary editor of *The New York Times,* Alden Whitman. At 71 a man is prone to think about death—and is not totally unconcerned about his place in history.

However the public notices treat Bridges' exit from the historical scene, his entrance was explosive. In less than a year the unknown longshoreman was catapulted by great events (the Pacific Coast maritime strike and the San Francisco general strike of 1934) and his own formidable abilities into the prominence of a major American labor figure.

Larrowe tells the story of genesis well, capturing much of its excitement, although he does not appreciate its place in historical sequence. This, remember, was 1934. The fledgling union that went into battle against the odds was no Wagner Act baby—"Labor's Magna Carta" was to come a year later. The Longshoremen were not riding the crest of the CIO wave, powered by all the organizing muscle, money, dynamism, eloquence and sagacity that John L. Lewis mustered. The CIO was not conceived until late 1935 and did not get rolling until 1936-37. In point of time the Pacific Coast labor battle was a precursor, a first act in the working-class drama that was yet to achieve its climax.

For radical labor 1934 was the ideal success story because, above all, it was a triumph for the fighting capacity, the wisdom, tenacity, initiative and courage of the rank and file, and Bridges was the quintessential protagonist of these workers in their vivifying time. Larrowe introduces some of Bridges' close associates, then and later on, who testify to his generic identification with the ranks, his gift for articulating their aspirations, his canny sense of tactics that struck the responsive chord. The union he led, renamed the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union when it affiliated with the CIO in 1937, was for many years described in radical circles as "the best union in the capitalist world." This was not simply an ideological accolade; it also embraced the union's effectiveness in its primary function of protecting and advancing the economic interests of its members. And on this score, no one was more effective than Bridges, which was the primary reason for his survival despite the relentless effort to destroy him.

Indeed, the hunt, which went on for two decades, only added to his stature as symbol. The cumulative detail of the hunt, as narrated by Larrowe, is still shocking, even to someone who was conversant with the separate episodes at the time of their occurrence. Bridges was subjected to two lengthy administrative hearings to deport him to Australia for alleged membership in the Communist Party, and one criminal prosecution for alleged perjury in denying such membership when he became a citizen in 1945. Already at midpoint in these legal wars Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy observed, "The record in this case will stand forever as a monument of man's intolerance of man." But the cases are only part of the record. The U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill specifically ordering Bridges deported. There was a lockout of the Port of San Francisco in 1936 and the grueling ninety-five-day shutdown of the Pacific Coast maritime industry in 1948: in each instance the employers told Longshoremen they would not return to work until Bridges was deposed as their leader. "Twelve prominent San Franciscans" once seriously considered an arrangement to assassinate him. There was also a futile effort to emasculate him by bribery.

The man was as incorruptible as he was indestructible, and this, too, is the stuff of heroic legends. The obsessive enmity of powerful segments of the Establishment, along with his positive accomplishments and attributes, identified Bridges with the great tradition of Debs and Haywood. But why did Larrowe, self-conscious about the incongruity of it,

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slip Sam Gompers, the arch representative of the antipodal labor tradition, into the same Pantheon? The burden of Larrowe's answer is contained in his penultimate chapter, headed "Labor Statesman." He adduces evidence to justify the label with its pejorative connotations, but he does not analyze or evaluate the evidence. The reader is left to draw his own inferences.

Nor does Larrowe deal with Bridges' image of himself. Perhaps he felt he disposed of the problem by paraphrasing Karl Marx to the effect that "We can no more accept at face value an era's view of itself than we can a man's opinion of his own character." But not accepting a man's self-portrait at face value is not the same as not seeing the self-portrait as part of the man. In private conversation and public stance Bridges suggests that "labor statesman" is a façade, not of his choosing or making, that behind it remains the old labor militant with his Socialist vision, the champion of the working class as the hope of social progress. Addressing a public meeting on the anniversary of the Soviet Union a couple of years ago he said the Russian Revolution remains his favorite revolution.

Such a reaffirmation did not restrain him, however, from a public reference to the *People's World* as "the West Coast Communist party rag." In a country inured to such sallies as a result of long saturation it was widely unnoticed, but it must have caused a twinge among some ILWU veterans who remember the aggressive persistence with which he once proclaimed the maxim: "Red-baiting is a tool of the boss."

Bridges' view of himself has plausibility. Compared, for example, with the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association, the ILWU stands as a beacon of social enlightenment. It was among the first U.S. unions to declare against the war in Vietnam. Its policy statements on domestic, and especially foreign, affairs bear its distinctive mark. The quality of its internal democracy still is a rarity in the U.S. labor movement. Few if any unions can match its record in overcoming racist barriers, and this despite some seamy spots. By the prevailing standards of affluence in labor officialdom the salaries of ILWU officers are Spartan.

Sometimes Bridges' assertion of his credo takes curious turns, as it did in a column he wrote for the ILWU paper after the McGovern debacle: "I sure think that San Francisco Mayor Joe Alioto offered good advice to his Democratic party saying, 'No Democrat is going to get anywhere unless he starts with the working people and their leaders.'

"That's Joe Alioto talking, the wealthy anti-trust lawyer, not Karl Marx, but although the name is Alioto the statement surely sounds like Marx."

In Marx's historical conception, of course, the workers are the gravediggers of capitalism, not the saviors of the Democratic Party, which makes for an important distinction between Alioto and Marx. Still the invocation of Marx is symptomatic; more symptomatic perhaps is the juxtaposition of names, because Bridges often conveys the impression of seeking the best of both worlds—Alioto's and Marx's.

It is the affinity with Alioto's world that imparts credibility to the "labor statesman" image. So does a pattern of collective bargaining that produced twenty-three years (1948-71) of peaceful coexistence on Pacific Coast docks, and the *quid pro quo* of the Mechanization & Modernization contract of 1961. Longshoremen agreed to cease resistance to mechanization and rationalization, to abandon long-standing conditions and practices designed to make more jobs and easier work. In return employers agreed to no layoffs, a minimum wage guarantee, and a share of the added profit derived from technological renovation and increased efficiency. As it turned out, in cash terms the Longshoremen's *quo* was $29 million and the employers' *quid* was an estimated saving of $200 million in labor costs over five and a half years of the contract. A corollary, if only implicit, guarantee of the agreement was accelerated attrition of the registered work force, which dwindled from some 30,000 in 1948 to some 10,000 in 1971.

Bridges' relations with his official peers of labor are also not what they once were. Back in 1949, in a postscript to a book on the 1934 strike by Mike Quin, a talented Communist journalist, he wrote: "We cannot afford to forget that the phony labor leaders of 1934 . . . may be dead and gone, reformed or missing, but there are always new ones anxious to take their places in this seemingly endless drama. And if any dues-payer asks, 'When will it all end? When can I knock off?' the only answer is, 'Brother, not until we win all the way.' " The conjunction of "phony" and "labor leader," frequent enough in Bridges' prose of other years, has vanished; although "phony" remains a favorite adjective it is more likely to be attached to young radicals and the very mixed assortment of his critics from the Left.

It is not a matter of semantics; involved is the conception of a fundamentally irreconcilable conflict between forces that in other days were represented by Debs and Haywood, and by Gompers. Tactically Bridges' discretion might be related to his principal solution for the problems of the ILWU with the shrinkage of its strategic economic base in the longshore industry: he has advocated merger with a bigger union, first with the International Longshoremen's Association, more recently with the Teamsters.

Both proposals have encountered stiff opposition. Over the years a fierce pride in the ILWU has developed among its cadre and members; there is a feeling that absorption into a larger union, especially one marked by extreme conservatism and autocratic rule, would mean the final burial of all that the ILWU has represented on the U.S. labor scene. In purely pragmatic, economic terms this feeling might be dismissed as nostalgia or sentimentality, yet it is related to the larger issue delineated in Larrowe's subtitle: "The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the U.S."

Actually Larrowe does not come to grips with this theme, except by inference. The subtitle is more a cryptic epitaph than a thesis that is elaborated. One can understand Bridges' irascible reaction at being portrayed as a "rise and fall" symbol.

MAN IN THE STREET: MEXICO

spilt wreckage bones
in a little flesh
in a sprawl of rags
dark long hair like a broken
fan in the dust people
carefully sightless
passing

we stood
we stared their eyes
toward knees drawn up
at the angle of endless hunger
our eyes stabbed theirs
for a reason
got no reason their
calm eyes glanced
at rattling fronds
at a white mirage volcano

past long past
but memory aches anew
at your quick cry
as you touched the parchment
forehead
was it fever
and pressed the useless
pesos into his hand

Alexander Laing

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It is not possible, however, truly to comprehend Bridges without confronting the larger theme. He was, after all, a dynamic, articulate spokesman of a powerful Left current that at its crest gave leadership to millions of workers, significantly shaping the initial character and course of the CIO. Within this current the Communist Party commanded ideological and political hegemony. Larrowe treats the relationship between Bridges and the party in a gingerly fashion, understandably so because it was the issue in three long legal proceedings. But history is not a police blotter. There was a particular social milieu, an ideological ambience in which Communist influence was paramount.

What happened to radical labor (and Bridges), as they emerged in the 1930s, cannot be understood solely within the structural and policy framework of trade unionism; it is intertwined with what happened to American communism. In this connection a classical insight of Lenin's might be pertinent. Also relevant—and not in isolation—are post-World War II phenomena: relative affluence, political imperatives of the cold war, technological revolution, institutional and legal aspects of industrial relations. These factors and others ought to be considered, however, together with Lenin's observations on the inherent narrowness and limitations of trade unionism, its inability to lift itself by its own ideological bootstraps beyond the conventional wisdom of the existing social order, and its incapacity, therefore, to generate solely with its own resources a consistent radicalism.

Such estimates were integral to his insistence upon an ideological and political force that transcended trade unionism, and could, by its effective existence, also expand trade union horizons. Modern American labor experience tends to corroborate this thesis. Although Socialists and Communists differed profoundly about the proper relationship of their parties to the trade unions, nonetheless each in their peak periods supplied the ideological and political wellsprings for a viable, influential radicalism within the labor movement. The point has more than post-mortem significance; it suggests a prerequisite for a revival of labor radicalism. It also suggests a compass for the study of the CIO Left that is yet to be written.

What Larrowe has contributed is an important, frequently fascinating, detail to that larger canvas. On its own terms, and within its own limitations, Larrowe's book etches a heroic period and towering figure in U.S. labor history. If the work has overtones of tragedy, at least it is tragedy in the epic tradition. □

To the Manner Bred

HENRY VII. *By S. B. Chrimes. University of California Press. 373 pp. $16.*

SEYMOUR KLEINBERG
Mr. Kleinberg teaches English literature at Long Island University.

Henry VII, England's first Tudor King (1457-1509), has been neglected both by scholars and popular biographers in favor of the more vivid personalities of his times, like Richard III, and his brilliant descendants, Henry VIII and Elizabeth. Such neglect might seem odd, since the period of his reign marks the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance in England, and since the Battle of Bosworth, which resulted in the crowning of Henry and the end of the long, debilitating War of the Roses, also marked the beginning of the end of English feudalism. The Tudors were England's first bourgeois monarchs; their triumph over the White Rose, the aristo-

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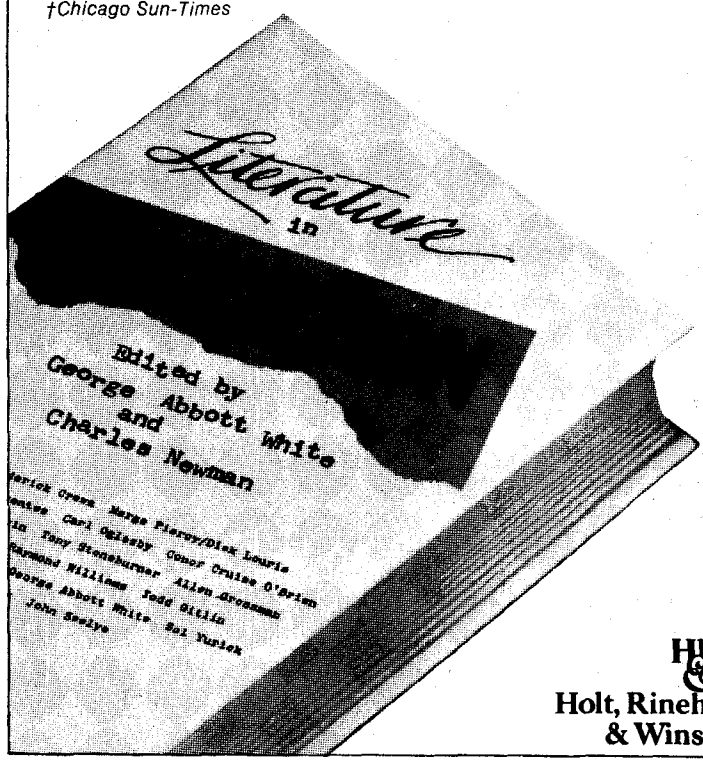

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cratic Plantagenets, was also the beginning of the triumphs of the bourgeoisie in England. The extraordinary achievement of the Tudors can be measured in part by the fact that they produced so dazzling a ruler as Elizabeth, and that within little more than a century one family could become the emblem of what the British value most in their national character. Between the Plantagenets and the Stuarts, modern Britain was born. As S. B. Chrimes concludes, Henry Tudor stabilized England fiscally and politically, and "brought England on towards its 'manifest destiny' as Great Britain."

Chrimes clarifies the reasons for the paucity of modern material about Henry VII: the long years in exile before Bosworth when little was known of Henry's life, the relative scarcity of personal documents, particularly letters, written during his reign, and the retiring nature of the man himself. Henry emerges from Chrimes's biography an able, judicious king, who gave England order and stability. Henry the man does not emerge at all.

Chrimes is most cautious in drawing conclusions that he cannot fully substantiate from original sources, most of which he handles scrupulously and intelligently. He disputes in a gentlemanly tone with scholars who he feels are too imaginative in their treatment of the subject, and he discredits Francis Bacon's unreliable *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* (1622). His own work belongs to that long tradition of honest, significant scholarship the English have so modestly created about their own history. One is struck by Chrimes's care and thoroughness. The audience addressed, the community of scholars, will certainly profit from his workmanlike and judicious study.

But, unfortunately, the book is so specialized as to be necessarily dull for most other readers. The first three chapters, another on Henry's foreign policies, and the epilogue, deal with Henry the King, and to some extent, the man; they are the most interesting sections. Where Chrimes touches on Henry's notorious avarice, he tries to mitigate the myth, justifying the need for prudence after the extravagance of the Plantagenets. However, even his reasonable conjectures fail to dispel the popular image of the parsimonious king.

The bulk of the study concentrates on the organization of government and on matters primarily legislative in nature. Three-quarters of the book, "The Personnel and Machinery of Government" and "Statecraft," are dominated by lists of names of cabinet members and secretaries, and by accounts of administrative policies and lawmaking. Chrimes is not at fault for having written a book to his own prescription rather than to mine, and given the nature of the material, perhaps no one could enliven it. But the memory of biographies like A. F. Pollard's *Henry VIII* or Garrett Mattingly's *Catherine of Aragon* adds to one's disappointment in the present instance, and to one's impression that the definitive study of Henry Tudor has yet to appear. □

Repression Old and New

THE RECANTATION OF GALILEO GALILEI: Scenes from History Perhaps. *By Eric Bentley. Harper & Row. 116 pp. $3.25.*

JAMES R. LANGFORD
Mr. Langford is executive editor of the University of Michigan Press.

Galileo Galilei may well be one of the most frequently interpreted, reinterpreted and misinterpreted personalities of modern history. A recent bibliography of major nonfiction books, monographs, and articles on or dealing with Galileo listed more than 2,000 entries published since 1940 alone. It did not include the thousands of references to Galileo which inevitably appear wherever science and religion, freedom of speech, and the scientific revolution are mentioned.

It seems practical to impose some order on this vast literature by distinguishing the scientific, biographical, fictional and dramatic writings about Galileo. Even within these categories, the commentators differ in their interpretations. Historians of science still debate the true nature of Galileo's contribution to modern science. With regard to his infamous condemnation by the Church for espousing a heliocentric view of the universe, the polemics of 19th-century freethinkers and Church apologists have subsided, but in our own times at least three opposing views have been vigorously espoused. Giorgio de Santillana's *The Crime of Galileo* portrays Galileo as the victim of petty, jealous, frightened and malicious churchmen. Arthur Koestler in *The Sleepwalkers* sees him as an arrogant upstart who, armed more with ambition than with evidence, forced the Church to condemn him. In *Galileo, Science and the Church*, I have argued that beneath the symbols, myths and apocrypha of the Galileo case there is a complex set of issues and an involved process of action, interaction and reaction in which serious mistakes were made on both sides—producing a conflict which was not absolutely inevitable.

In fiction, *The Star Gazer* by Zsolt de Harsanyi is probably the best of a small and undistinguished handful of novels about Galileo. Harsanyi portrays Galileo as a man who, broken by the Inquisition, recanted shamelessly before his "potential torturers." In drama, the condemnation of Galileo has been presented by Barry Stavis in his *Lamp at Midnight*, a relatively factual account, and by Bertolt Brecht in the 1938 and 1947 versions of his celebrated play *Galileo*. In the 1938 version, having in mind the suppression of free discussion in Nazi Germany, Brecht condemns Galileo for cowardice in failing to defend freedom against tyranny even at the cost of his life. In the later text, Galileo is vilified for betraying his intellectual gifts by submitting on a scientific question to those who happen to be in power.

Very different from Brecht's interpretation is that given by Eric Bentley in *The Recantation of Galileo Galilei*. For Mr. Bentley, Galileo's political naïveté and his unswerving allegiance to the Church led him to appeal to the power wielders of the Inquisition in the hope of converting them to his way of thinking. From the opening scene, Bentley's Galileo is sanguine in his belief that the Church and all the world will accord him the right to proclaim his discoveries. The key to the play's final resolution is presented in Scene 2. When Sarpi asks him what he will do if he is silenced, Galileo replies that there is always the possibility of echoing Giordano Bruno's final words, spoken as the fires of the Inquisition enveloped him: "Better a spiritual death than a craven life." Sarpi cautions Galileo that if he is ever faced with that decision, he should ask himself whether Bruno's response would be the bravest or the most appropriate for him.

When he fails to obtain a public endorsement from his patron, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Inquisition begins probing his orthodoxy, Galileo carries his case to Rome and to its most powerful theologian, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. In his interview with Bellarmine he learns that the experts of the Inquisition have declared the Copernican system to be contrary to the Bible. The Cardinal advises him to turn his attention to something more useful—such as inventing a new weapon for use

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against the Protestants. But Galileo spends the next seventeen years writing what he believes will be indisputable proof that the earth moves. By the time the manuscript is finally finished, Bellarmine has died and an old friend, Maffeo Barberini, is now the Pope. Confidently, Galileo sends his manuscript to Rome for a license. Instead of approval, he receives a summons to appear before the Inquisition in Rome.

In the trial scenes, the Jesuit Cardinals and the Prosecutor intrigue mercilessly against him. In desperation, Galileo finally appeals to the Pope. When the latter refuses to support him and orders him to sign a contrived confession of disobedience and vanity, Galileo —now completely disillusioned and defeated—gives in. But the Holy Office wants more than a confession. The Cardinals order Galileo to recant publicly. Now Galileo stands firm. He sheds his fears and his naive faith in the Establishment, and challenges his enemies to burn him at the stake. Astonished, the Cardinals discuss whether they should accept his challenge or perhaps place him under house arrest for the remainder of his life. Galileo suddenly realizes that he could continue to write and that his manuscripts could be smuggled out to printers in Protestant Europe. Just as they are about to decide on execution, Galileo sinks to his knees in feigned penitence and agrees to recant. He knows that it will be a sham recantation; his real recantation is to give up believing that the world and the Church owe him approval and fame; instead it is he who owes the world and the Church the kind of truth which will force them to change in spite of themselves.

From a historical point of view, there are a number of flaws in Bentley's account. But Bentley has noted elsewhere that drama has a different logic from that of fact. Galileo's story is interesting to the extent that it says something about the forces of change and repression, of human greatness and weakness. In other words, Bentley is after truth more urgent than historical fact. In the Foreword to the English translation of Brecht's *Galileo*, Bentley wrote, "To me it seems that the claim of the chronicle play to be close to history is valid only if it is contemporary history that is in question."

It is Bentley's concern for the right of free speech, freedom of the press and the right to dissent from orthodoxy that led him to write about Galileo. In doing so, he has written about the threats to freedom in our own time. Now it is the state rather than the Church which enforces orthodoxy; "treason" has replaced "heresy." For "Holy Office" read "House Committee on Un-American Activities" (now known as the House Internal Security Committee); for "secret files of the Inquisition" substitute "computerized dossiers compiled by the FBI"; for Galileo's manuscript substitute the Pentagon Papers. The forms of repression in our time may seem more subtle but they are no less dangerous. Seen in the garb of the 17th century, the necessity of devotion to the truth, even if it means going underground, is clearly preferable to yielding to the illegitimate demands of the party line or to giving up because so few seem to care. As the Galileo case suggests, truth has a way of thriving if someone has taken care to shield and nurture it in its time of need. □

Horse and Buggy Freudianism

SIGMUND FREUD. *By Richard Wollheim. Edited by Frank Kermode. The Viking Press. 292 pp. $7.50. Paper $3.25.*

PAUL ROAZEN

Mr. Roazen teaches political and social science at York University in Toronto. He is the author of Freud: Political and Social Thought *and* Brother Animal: The Story of Freud and Tausk *(both Vintage).*

An appreciation of the contrasting status of psychoanalysis in England and America is essential for understanding the appearance of a book like Wollheim's *Sigmund Freud* in Frank Kermode's Modern Masters series. Initially, Freud's loyal disciples, both in England and America, saw their task as that of rounding off what he had introduced in only a fragmentary way. A successful movement, however, has a way of absorbing into itself some of the best ideas of the opposition, and by now there has been so much silent incorporation within psychoanalysis of ideas taken from Adler, Jung and Rank that it is all too easy to read back into past "orthodox" doctrine what is accepted only today. While Freud's power lay in his capacities as a writer and clinician, psychoanalysis now rests on an institutional base which is, at least in the United States, bound up with the official psychiatry Freud scorned.

In Great Britain, however, 20th-century psychiatry has developed along a very different course from that which it has followed in America. While Freudian concepts have long pervaded American culture, more old-fashioned attitudes have prevailed in England. Today Freud is looked on with a higher degree of suspicion there, and medicine as a whole is accorded nowhere near as high a status as in the United States. British analysts have tended not to be English: Ernest Jones was Welsh, Edward Glover a Scot, and Melanie Klein and Anna Freud emigrated from the Continent.

As happened in the early days of psychoanalysis, the very lack of popular acclaim has meant that in England psychotherapy as a career attracts highly talented practitioners, able to resist the pressure to conform. British analysts who write are far ahead of any American rivals in clarity and scope. In any case, although it was numerically much smaller than its American counterpart, at the end of World War II the British Psychoanalytic Society was wracked by an ideological quarrel over whether Melanie Klein's ideas were "deviationist." Now, the level of controversy in psychoanalytic circles is normally quite low. In the light of all the attention given to the splits in the history of psychoanalysis this claim may seem surprising; but having discouraged controversy and promoted conformity to the group's will

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WITH A RESOLUTE STRIDE

Here we are, off to a wrong end.
Not very promising. When do we get there?
Never, if at all.
Not exactly what I call success. But still.
Still? We're moving, we're not still.
I meant anyway
Is that what we're headed for?
It's in the same direction.
Well, let's join it. Or head it off.
We can, by arriving.
Starting from when?
From our earliest destination.
Yes. Let's be steadfast.

Marvin Cohen

(if not Freud's own), psychoanalysis has benefited less than might be expected by the ventilation of differences of opinion. When the occasional blowup has occurred, it has generally been disproportionately violent. Admittedly, as Freud himself once pointed out, the nature of the evidence in psychoanalysis is such that one cannot hope for the same degree of certainty as in other disciplines that aspire to scientific status. Observers do not share all the same evidence—and excommunication becomes more likely as a method of settling a dispute. But while in retrospect the wrangling over Melanie Klein may look like too much washing of dirty linen in public, the continuing presence of rival orthodoxies in Britain has stimulated the growth of new ideas. In contrast, the broad American endorsement of Freudian ideas has led to a less lively atmosphere.

Books on Freud will continue to be a minor industry; his letters—heavily edited and often with no proper marks of omission—will continue to come out, more memoirs may well be published, and undoubtedly further popularizations will appear. Few in the United States can expect to benefit from Wollheim's sort of book, but Wollheim, living in England where the intelligentsia have long been dubious about psychoanalysis, feels the need to present psychoanalytic ideas in a version that will render suitable homage to Freud. Wollheim explains that he felt the "need to retrieve what Freud actually said from the many interpretations and partial readings to which his words have been subjected." He "preferred exposition to interpretation or evaluation." The result is essentially a trot. It is hard to believe, on the basis of his account, that anyone could be interested in Freud as an analyst of the human soul. A comment that Freud is said to have made about the Viennese logical positivists is apposite here: "Those critics who limit their studies to methodological investigations remind me of people who are always polishing their glasses instead of putting them on and seeing with them."

It is remarkable that a writer as sophisticated as Wollheim should be so uncritical in this book. For example, even though there is by now a good deal of evidence concerning Freud's early use of cocaine, Wollheim ignores it to accept a version more congenial to Freud's view of himself; without giving any evidence whatsoever, Wollheim declares that "but for an unlucky accident, he [Freud] would have made himself famous as the discoverer of cocaine in its clinical use." Again, like other British philosophers, Wollheim has been influenced by Melanie Klein. (Stuart Hampshire once joked that the very improbability of her views has insured the interest of his colleagues.) Her analyst was Karl Abraham, and she continued to work with his ideas long after his death. How else can one comprehend, save by the power of analytic suggestion, Wollheim's statement that Abraham was "the most brilliant" of Freud's disciples. More brilliant than Carl Jung? Or than Sandor Ferenczi? For what it is worth, Freud would not have thought so.

A central inadequacy of Freud's training was his lack of rounded psychiatric experience, for his practice tended to exclude cases of grave mental illness. At the outset Freud thought that psychosis might be a form of neurosis, but he later saw psychosis and neurosis as alternative ways of resolving problems. Few clinicians today would classify or treat Freud's early patients as neurotics. Freud himself came to be suspicious of what might be neurotic façades masking more serious disturbances. A neurosis is not the worst thing that one can suffer from, and indeed it may represent a high level of character development. Nevertheless, in his last years Freud once identified the turning point in the recovery of a schizophrenic as the restoration of Oedipal feelings; the concept of the Oedipus complex is, as has often been observed, a highly rationalistic construct suitable for understanding only a limited range of mental illness.

Wollheim's own credulity about psychoanalysis, in what he claims is a nonevaluative study, is so great as to prevent his appreciating later developments in psychoanalytic thinking. For example, Freud assumed the absence of transference in psychoses, and even though contemporary analysts would repudiate this notion Wollheim presents Freud's view uncritically. He even restates Freud's position that the so-called narcissistic neuroses differ from the psychoses "not in kind but in degree and severity," without informing the reader that by the end of his life Freud had abandoned this early concept.

Wollheim believes that "psychoanalysis originated in therapy," and therefore he feels justified in ignoring the role of Freud's self-analysis in the development of his theories. Wollheim observes that "there are commentators on Freud who would regard his commitment to dualism as an expression of his personality or as a character trait," but evidently the calling of an expositor is more exacting than that of a commentator: "any such interpretation can only be conjectural." Wollheim quotes Freud's early assertion that "the patient's symptoms constitute his sexual activity" without any critical distance whatsoever. Nor does Wollheim ask which emotions Freud might have neglected or failed to understand. Instead, we are told that "Freud was never a lover of humanity, but he did as much for it as any other human being who has lived."

Perhaps Wollheim's book can serve a useful purpose for an English audience, but from a North American vantage point his book only serves to shore up a profession increasingly unable to count on writers within its own ranks for explanations of past controversies or recent changes in thinking. Ernest Jones was commissioned by the Freud family to write an authorized biography, and it has taken some time for us to realize how partisan an account accompanied all the new material he presented. For an author endowed with critical intelligence to present such an inhumanly elevated account of Freud even today is to promote an erroneous, bourgeois conception of normality, and an impoverished vision of human possibilities. □

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THEATRE / Harold Clurman

Beckett's *Endgame* (being given at 111 Second Avenue) is neither tragedy nor comedy. It is too devastatingly bleak for comedy; it mocks itself too much for tragedy. It is a heartbroken chuckle in an infernal cave. Beckett is entirely modern and yet fits into no category except perhaps that of certain early medieval scribes.

If Beckett were less contemporary he might have called his play "World's End." In the gray region where his piece takes place "nothing stirs" but the remnants of three men and a woman. When the earth is viewed through a telescope it is "corpsed." "And the sea the same." Inside the breast of Hamm, the play's central personage, is a "big sore." Life has ebbed away and to the anguished cry, "What's happening?" the brainwashed answer is—as in *Waiting for Godot*—"Something is taking its course." Life is forever going on, but we do not know exactly what it is.

Mankind has been reduced to those who cannot stand—the masters; and those who cannot sit—the servitors. And then there are the legless parents on the dump heaps. Hamm has a father whom he calls "accursed progenitor." What keeps humanity going? Beckett's brilliant answer is "The dialogue." How do we know we're alive? we cry. One asks the other, "Did you ever have an instant of happiness?" The reply is, "Not to my knowledge." What life there is proceeds along "the same inanities." And "we do what we can." It appears that that isn't much. No, *Endgame* isn't comedy.

There is pathos in it, and, remotely, a plea, a hope. "Ah, yesterday"; "formerly" things were easier, better. Does Beckett mean that, or is it another of his ironies, a jibe at the sentimentality of nostalgia? (This note is struck also in *Godot*.) We are not wise enough, Beckett implies, to deal with the dismal riddle of the universe. "Imagine," he has Hamm say, "if a rational being came back to earth, wouldn't he be able to get ideas into his head if he observed us long enough?" Is a savior (a "Godot") then possible? But he is not God: "The bastard! He doesn't exist!"

For all his severity, Beckett, like Hamm, has a "heart in his head." That is what makes him moving; also why he (and we) cannot be entirely rational. For a head without a heart is lifeless, and in life we must suffer. The only way this can be mitigated is to know and accept it. Beckett's plays are the dramatization of the perennial struggle which causes us to storm against our sufferings and to find some inner or supernal way of relieving them. *Endgame* is not a declaration of total negativism; it may be a drama of resistance to that state. If Beckett's nihilism were his "last word" we should be obliged to question his intelligence and conclude that his is an unnatural wisdom. For my part, I welcome the chaos into which we are all plunged and I believe it our task courageously to forge paths within it. Beckett is doing that—by writing plays bodying forth the terrible trials involved in the effort.

Though I prefer *Waiting for Godot*, I consider *Endgame* a masterpiece. (I did not fully realize this when I saw its original 1957 production in Paris.) It is a complete theatre statement of a consummate poet's experience. Its writing is endowed with a marvelous musicality which, while mordant, is graced by subtle repetition and thematic variations.

"Nothing is funnier than unhappiness," is one of the *Endgame* lines. This may have served André Gregory as a war-

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rant for his treatment of the play. He has jazzed it up. Unlike Roger Blin's Paris production (*Endgame* is dedicated to that actor-director), Gregory's is done under bright lights. The speech, the tempos, the stage business are pop American. Everything is forcefully projected and italicized by incessant byplay or stage business. It is nearly all set in a single key, at the sacrifice of the mood and modulation of Beckett's writing. I am at present somewhat at a loss to define my impression. That the production is not what Beckett envisaged, I am certain. But no matter! Only those who have never before seen the play can say what Gregory's production means to them—that is, whether it makes sense and, if so, what sort of sense? What I have attempted here is to convey what the script contains and my reaction to it.

I. B. Singer's *The Mirror* (Yale Repertory Theatre) is a cabalistic comedy. The cabala is a collection of writings devoted to a mystical interpretation of the Scriptures, as conceived by certain rabbis of old and a few early Christians. Its "doctrine" is entirely allusive. Singer's play is symbolic but not opaque. Its purport is that those who abandon orthodoxy—in this instance Jewish—because they cannot give it credence, find it equally difficult, if not impossible, to enter a pagan or heathen realm.

The play takes place in Poland of the late 19th century. Zirel, the daughter in a household that follows the customs of Hebraic piety, is in rebellion against them: they are too rigidly ascetic; she yearns for carnal satisfactions. Through her mirror she perceives the lure of the other world of fleshly pleasures. A wily demon presents himself as a prospective lover and invites her to join him in Sodom. Once there, the demon confesses himself impotent, while the archfiend himself is satiated and weary, and his bedizened minions are cursed and cruel. Zirel wishes to return to her earthly sphere. Neither she who has become captive in Sodom nor those who have escaped it are content in their respective conditions. They can only gaze at one another through the mirror, longingly and disconsolate, in a spirit of mutual compassion.

In the first act, a familiar jesting is aimed at the provincial mode of life in Zirel's home circumstances; this is followed in the second by theatrically colorful teasing in a light satiric vein of the sodomite world. Singer offers in *The Mirror* a wistfully humorous metaphor of his spiritual quandary, caught as he is between the commands of righteousness and the magnetic force of the senses.

Only Marcia Jean Kurtz as Zirel and Richard Venture as the satanic messenger are adequate to their roles. The production, well thought out as a whole, needed more extended rehearsal.

Shelter, with book and lyrics by Gretchen Cryer and music by Nancy Ford, pleases the eye (John Golden Theatre). The setting by Tony Walton, the lighting and projections by Richard Pilbrow, are engagingly ingenious. Best of all are Marcia Rodd who sings nicely, acts capably and is extremely good looking, and Susan Browning, with a fetching dimple, a delightful sense of eccentric fun and in general a captivating air.

The show deals with the shabby shelter that most guys, who are both tragic figures and heels, provide for their women. The only excuse for such sorry fellows is that they are frightened and exhausted by the mechanics of their employment—to which they ultimately accommodate themselves in limp complaisance.

The very slight book is not dumb, and occasionally sparks with a funny line; the music, without being original, comes across easily. All in all a modest pastime made memorable to me by the above mentioned girls.

Jean Kerr's *Finishing Touches* (Plymouth Theatre), though perhaps not as apt in its comedic thrust as the same author's *Mary, Mary*, is still a good-natured entertainment, which alternates between what approaches serious material—the espousal of a safe and sane respectability in the life of ordinary educated citizens—and a certain fashionable flipness which might be equated with wit if it were not so committed to the ease of quizzical chitchat. Nevertheless, certain valid points are made on the liberally conservative side.

The play is well acted by a sympathetic cast. That is especially true of Barbara Bel Geddes, who adds to her wholesome womanly humor an unemphatic but ever palpable lyricism that breaks through the tone of commonplace domestic conversation. The play has been properly directed by Joseph Anthony, knowingly designed by Ben Edwards, and admirably outfitted in clothes by Jane Greenwood. If *Finishing Touches* is not meat for the aesthetically hungry, it is still a dish to satisfy the regular, honestly friendly theatregoer. □

THE OWL

I loved his winter voice
but now it puts out
my cabin fire and kills
the mad fir wind.
For I know why he has come.

I saved the tiny softness
of a young cottontail
from the jaws of a tiger
cat, then fed and nursed it
watching it grow away

outside my late-fall window.
Now I wait, pretending to read,
for the night to cry
like a knifed child.

Michael Niflis

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

Balanchine's *Symphony in Three Movements* (Stravinsky) is dangerous. Its energy spills over the brim, the stage looks crowded with dancers, it is difficult to locate the nucleus of action, and the placement of dancers is not so much asymmetrical as dislocated. It is, I think, the most raw and unleashed ballet Balanchine has done. It was choreographed for the Stravinsky Festival and went into the New York City Ballet's regular repertory during its winter season, ending February 18.

The curtain rises on a long diagonal of girls in pristine leotards (originally white, now shades of yellow) and with sassy, high-bunched pony tails. Stravinsky's chords blare out and the girls swing their arms violently in big circles, fling them upward and plunge forward, their heads lowered and arms thrown in front of them. It seems a demoniac invocation, to which Helgi Tomasson responds, it seems, by leaping from the wings onto the stage. He leaps at a slight angle to their diagonal, and for the rest of the dance his plane of movement is jarringly different from that of the group. He does big but disconnected movements—pow, silence; pow, silence. Soon, Tomasson is joined by Lynda Yourth, and together they continue the leap-halt sequence. (Consecutive jumps are easy because the spring that is generated by landing on bent legs is projected forward. Having to jump without the aid of sustained momentum is a tricky business; it is fascinating because Balanchine usually concocts strange effects that proceed from the body's natural inclinations.) Meanwhile, the ensemble walks on point,

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their backs in a slight crouch, their pony tails swinging, their arms flailing. Their dancing is too cool and mechanized to be Amazonian; it is more scary. The pony tails take on the malevolent innocence of a throng of Lolitas. Their little side-to-side shuffles, studies in insouciance, turn the Broadway chorus line into a menacing army.

Next Sara Leland dances in the middle of a small corps. It is a minute of respite, but not for long. The group begins to circle, in a rolling walk step; Leland circles in the opposite direction. Walking accelerates to running and Leland breaks into a series of turns. She charges through the girls, who are rushing headlong at her. After a few big circles, the girls run off and Leland spins off with even faster turns into . . . outer space. No sooner is she off than John Clifford and entourage bound on. Their steps are smaller and form more of a matrix, but this dance too gobbles up space. Whereas Tomasson had to pause before each big jump, thereby squelching the upward spring, Clifford must cut short his jumps, driving himself down from midair before the jump takes its natural course. The effect of both is a distortion of the body's motor; both also gave the impression of blocking and chopping up the music's propulsion. Yet, due to the constantly changing patterns and drive of the corps, the ballet's overall momentum parallels and finally runs ahead of the music.

In the final part of this first movement, the original ensemble of sixteen rushes on and again lines up in a diagonal. Again, Tomasson jumps in front of them. But this time he jumps from the front instead of the back wing, and he is angled slightly differently. Too, the girls' diagonal subsequently splits in two by a pace, so that you are not sure if the line is jagged by intent or mistake. The outline is the same as the beginning: the inner details "off-key." This quasi-resolution is perhaps the most unsettling moment of the ballet so far. After Tomasson's last jump, one by one the girls suck in their outflung arms and legs and unfurl them into an open position, their backs arched forward and their faces uplifted toward the audience. They strike the classic Romantic attitude—wide open and fully exposed. Although this is far from the earlier crouched, predatory stances, again there is something off-key about the way they have opened up. It is like watching flowers bloom in some inverted fashion, becoming ominous mutations.

The second section is a duet for Leland and Clifford (the latter, unfortunately, lacking the mass and weight of

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He left us like a hawk a vermilion sky,
Turning away the light, abandoning the known.

Duane Niatum

Edward Villella, for whom the role was created). The duet is strangely quiet, sensuous and meditative, with a pronounced Eastern tingle. Much of the movement is on bent knees. Elbows are bent and the hands are flattened, palms out. The couple cuts exotic poses, but langorously and with sexual passivity. They separate and come together, separate and come together as in a trance. Are they Indian dancers, Buddhas, figures on a totem pole, or fashion models? They move with feline cool, but underneath is a feeling of suppressed energy—perhaps barbarism. One can hear it also in the music. But, as in all Balanchine masterpieces, one is never sure if the music sounds the way it does because of the choreography or if the choreography feels a certain way because of the music. The duet is one of those magic moments in which music and dance exchange identities and in the process transform each other into what Stravinsky once called "eye music."

As the two dancers leave the stage others leap on, so as to sever the interlude by a stroke of the whip. And now the ballet resumes its headlong course. There are two moments of relative stasis: when the three female soloists and three male soloists engage in canonic interplay. In the context of the entire last movement, however, these moments do not stop the drive; rather, they are revving-up periods. The fascinating probability is that if you listened to the music alone, these canons would sound like total stops. But Balanchine finds in them, or imposes on them, an agitation that links to the rest of the ballet. The agitation comes in two sizes. In front and in capital letters is the soloists' choreography—aggressive but quickly executed leaps, plunges and socking arabesques. In contrast, the large ensemble does small foot steps but large and energetic arm motions. Its rhythm is steady, while that of the soloists is syncopated. Because of this and sheer number, the ensemble looks-sounds like a drone, carrying its oppressive foreboding. This quality crystallizes when eight girls place themselves in the wings right and left so that only half their bodies are visible. They are half-seen but keenly felt. Then they make big and deliberate side steps on bent knees and on point onto the stage and half off, onto the stage and half off. In exact rhythm with the walk, their arms sweep back and forth across their faces, like slow windshield wipers. Who are these creatures and what are they doing? It is a science fiction mystery, but one thing certain is that I would not want to be in the near presence of these space-age Wilis.

The ballet ends with a brief spell of unison dancing for the entire cast of thirty-two. The men then run forward and fall to the floor, poised to spring into the audience. (It is the first time, I think, that Balanchine has used this floor-crouch, a stance that in the general dance theatre has become a cliché of menace.) The others space themselves across the stage. A few raise their arms upward or to the side. The effect is like a stripped-down and flattened totem pole, recalling the figurations of the *pas de deux* section. The dancers stand immobile while the music concludes. All through *Symphony in Three Movements* Balanchine has been alternately scurrying underneath, tearing through and running ahead of Stravinsky, but Stravinsky has the last word.

There cannot be last words about this ballet. The choreography is difficult to do and to watch. Will it seem more orderly when the dancers are more familiar with it? Will cleaner performance make it less or more scary? Right now energy erupts like a volcano. It is somewhat messy but remarkable for that reason. It is the only Balanchine ballet whose energy does not derive primarily from the suppression of energy. It is also remarkable that at this stage in his career, Balanchine can design an essentially un-Balanchinian ballet and make it work. □

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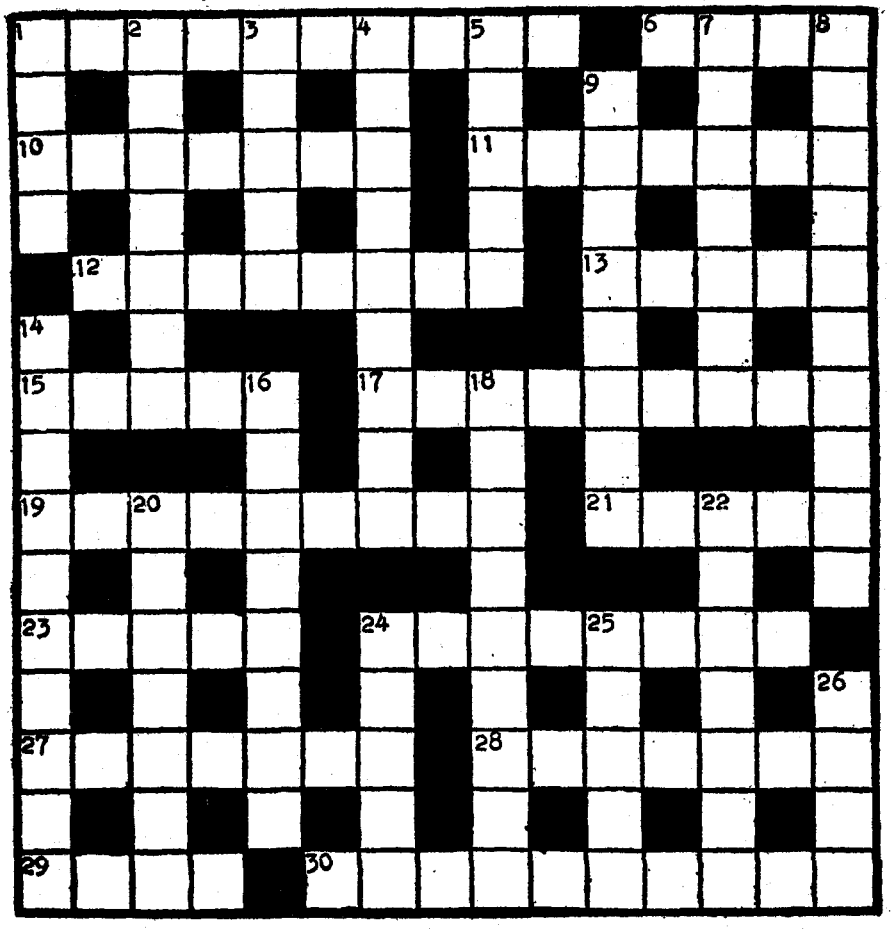
Crossword Puzzle No. 1478

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 18 down Evidently the butcher refuses to cut up an off-color animal. (1, 5,3,1,6,3)
6 Unbleached color. (4)
10 Government take-over headed by such that should be married. (7)
11 One of those things associated with little grains of sand that serves as a fall hindrance. (7)
12 Liqueur served up in estate settlement. (8)
13 An island in America, primarily, or elsewhere? (5)
15 Associated with 24 down as a comparative certainty. (5)
17 It might make starting difficult. (5,4)
19 Duck! It makes the arms green! (9)
21 Perhaps struck for material gain. (5)
23 Indians of the Brahmin caste? (5)
24 Somewhat ticklish. (8)
27 It shows you may have worked hard, to a certain degree. (7)
28 If 24 down is not natural, one might look into it. (7)
29 and 26 down Brings back sleep on such things as may have gold or silver? (8)
30 Ushers might, in fancy establishments. (10)

DOWN

1 Might cause a scratch. (4)
2 A couple of times a year it almost describes a horse and another animal. (7)
3 Such a measure is for a psychologist. (5)
4 Points to cases that have the indirect object of certain drugs. (9)
5 One might split, tighten, secure or lever. (5)
7 It should be topical, and almost tropical. (7)
8 Certainly not like Cole, being rather careless. (10)
9 Pertains to those of which one might be firm. (8)
14 Watch the old-fashioned type—and stop one that meanders. (4-6)
16 Studying the rhythm of the feet? (8)
18 See 1 across
20 Such instructions for preparation might be precise, however indirect. (7)
22 Is having such power associated with disaster? (7)
24 The ad make-up might go with Schubert's maiden. (5)
25 The air should be seasonal. (5)
26 See 29 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1477

ACROSS: 1 Bar sinister; 9 and 10 Airstrips; 11 Item; 13, 12, 17 and 29 Rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief; 15 Bedecked; 16 Nibble; 18 Abates; 21 Indigent; 24 Mystery; 26 Strands; 28 Ends; 30 Mite; 31 Toes the line: DOWN: 2 Absorbent; 3 Set-back; 4 Nail; 5 Session; 6 Edith; 7 Dipole; 14 Ad lib; 19 and 8 Beyond recall; 20 Sprites; 22 Dutiful; 23 Nudity; 25 Tasso; 27 Wish.

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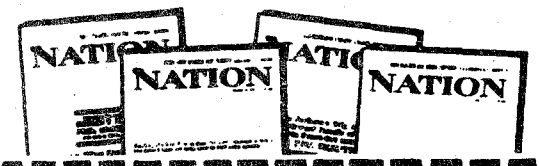

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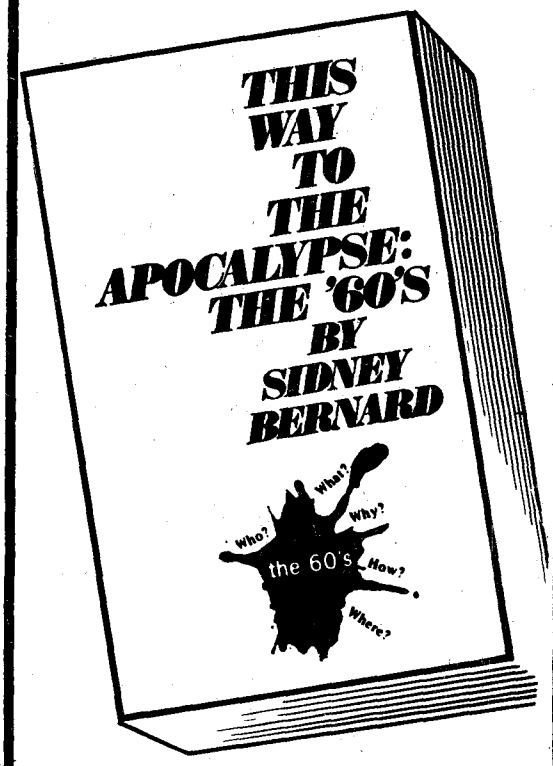

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